COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. IV. No. 18.] *London, Saturday, 5th November*, 1803. [Price 10D

"I condemn the principle of having recourse to Volunteer-Corps, instead of having recourse to volun-
"teer service, in other modes. From the sort of training which these corps receive, one may judge
"of the way, in which they will be brought into action. The companies will be collected into re-
"giments, and the regiments into brigades. I do not think they will be good for any thing in that
"way; neither do I think that any judicious officer will accept of them. It is not true, that num-
"bers always make strength, neither can that other comfortable reflection, that if they do no good
"they will do no harm, be applied in this instance. They would encumber the movements, ob-
"struct the roads, and consume the provisions; and, which would be a main consideration, they
"would be a great depository of panic, if, as was not unlikely, they once caught it."——Mr. Wind-
ham's Speech, August 10, 1803.

AFFAIRS OF IRELAND.

LETTER III. *

Dublin, 29th Oct. 1803.

SIR,——"*Equo ne credite teucri*," was the advice which, in a dangerous moment, Laocoon gave to the Trojans. It will be remembered that the *equus*, against which that sagacious adviser cautioned his countrymen, was a WOODEN one. His countrymen did not regard Laocoon. They received the *wooden* representative of wisdom. They approached it as if it possessed authority and power. Its *wooden* head towered above their houses. But, though the machine itself was innoxious wood, the credulous Trojans found its hollow head and exalted sides were nothing less than receptacles for greedy peculators and blood-thirsty assassins. The ingenious author of the story did not mean to confine the lesson, which it inculcates, to the tale of Troy alone. He meant to take advantage of that easy metaphorical expression, which, by the common assent of mankind, has moulded itself into most languages, and by which a certain species of head (which the moderns, by various moral experiments, have ascertained to be a non-conductor of ideas) has been denominated a *wooden* head. He meant to caution future nations not to put trust or confidence in the apparent innocence of any such wooden instrument; and not to suffer themselves to be led to exalt it into consequence, or to pay it any respect. He meant to tell them that any people, who submitted to be governed by a *wooden* head, would not find their security in its supposed innoxiousness, as its hollowness would soon be occupied by instruments of mischief. When I found, Sir, this portion of the kingdom overwhelmed by such consequences to our property as the rapacity of Mr. Marsden and his friends, and such consequences to our lives as the pikes of Mr. Emmett and his friends have lately produced: when I could trace all these evils as the inevitable issue from the head and body of such a government as that of Lord Hardwicke, and I am told of his *innoxiousness* and his *firmness*, I still reply the story of the *wooden* horse, and I shall still, notwithstanding the fate of Laocoon, raise my voice to my countrymen and cry, *equo ne credite teucri*. Not, Sir, that I would be understood literally. I do not mean to assert that the head of my Lord Hardwicke is absolutely built of timber. My application, like that of the original author of the tale, is only metaphorical. Yet, at the same time, I cannot avoid suspecting, that if the head of his Excellency, were submitted to the analysis of any such investigator of nature as Lavoisier, it would be found to contain a superabundant portion of particles of a very ligneous tendency. This, Sir, is the Lord Hardwicke of Doctor Addington, against whose government "not a murmur of com-
"plaint has been heard"—while our property has been subject to the plunder of his clerks, and our persons have been exposed to the pikes of the rebels. Still, however, the innocence of Lord Hardwicke, as to any intention of mischief, is held forth. But, I reply in the words of Mr. Burke: "they who
"truly mean well must be fearful of acting
"ill. Delusive good intention is no excuse
"for presumption." And I may add, in my own words, that the government of a harmless man is not, therefore, a harmless government. Give me leave to suppose, (I even suppose with trembling, for God long preserve the person of our King, far, far from such scenes as I have witnessed), that his Majesty had himself been where his representative for Ireland was on the 23d of July. Give me leave to suppose, that the King had been as Lord Castlereagh asserted his Lord Lieutenant had been, fully apprized of the conspiracy, would the King, when his proud capital was menaced, and when

* For the introductory letter see page 586; and, for Letter II, see page 545.

the ruffians were already whetting their pikes for the hearts of his subjects.——Would the King, at five o'clock in the evening, have slunk from the meditated scene of action, have doubled his guards in a remote spot, have consigned the awful night to the wisdom and gallantry of the little green desk of a clerk, and have waited at a prudential distance, till day rose on the murders of the night, and then, and not until then, have returned with quadruple guards *to assemble a council?* This, Sir, is precisely the instance which Voltaire gives to prove the imbecillity of the latter Roman Empire. "Bientôt "après des déluges de barbares inonderent "de tous côtés ce qui était échappé aux "mains d'Atrila——Que faisaient cependant les empereurs? Ils assemblaient des "conciles." No, Sir, the King would not have done so. The King would have remained, though the thousands of his loyal subjects, who would have thrown themselves into a rampart round him, would have secured him against all personal hazard—the King, I say, would have remained to assist every movement by his advice, and to have animated every action by his presence. How did the King act in London in 1780? He came to his council, and told his silent magistrates, that if they did not know or would not do their duty, he did know his duty and would do it. He did so, and by his own orders, and by his personal interposition, stopped the progress of that devastation, which had before been permitted to rage. In thinking of what has passed, I have sometimes ventured to conjecture, what might come to pass, and have endeavoured to fancy, how my Lord Hardwicke would look, when he should hereafter be first admitted into the presence of his Sovereign, and should raise his eyes towards the countenance of his injured and his gallant master.——You have read, Sir, the beautiful line of the celebrated school boy upon the theme of the miracle.—*Vidit et erubuit lympha pudica deum.* I have often thought, Sir, that in the presence of its Sovereign the *wood* of my Lord Hardwicke might exhibit the same consciousness as the water of Judea, *et erubescat.*——But, Sir, the Doctor is a Toxopholite, and understands the advantage inculcated by the proverb of having two strings to his bow. The Doctor, therefore, in his speech of the 29th of July, quoted in my last letter, after having honoured Lord Hardwicke with his praises, proceeds thus——"When it is considered, "Sir, that Lord Hardwicke is assisted in "all his councils by the advice of that [illegible] and TRULY GREAT [illegible] adorned that "chair in which you now sit, &c. &c." When a kingdom is at stake, and in its consequences, I may say, a mighty empire, you will perhaps be astonished to find, that a person as related to and acting in such times and on such things designated by the description of a truly *great character*, is no other than the late Mr. Counsellor Mitford now become Chancellor of Ireland. When we, Sir, the inhabitants of this city, so far removed from the seat of information, discovered that even the second person, to whose wise care we were committed, was a truly *great character*, it was natural for us to conclude, that the first person was still something greater, and that our total ignorance of the acts by which each of those personages had, amongst the nations of Europe, acquired the epithet of *magnus*, must have proceeded from that unfortunate obscurity, in which our distance from the grand scenes of action, where the powers of the human mind are now called forth and displayed, generally leaves us. Inquiry and research are the duty and the resource of the ignorant, and therefore I did inquire. The result of no small attention bestowed in this pursuit was, that I discovered of our Viceroy that he was in rank an earl; in manners a gentleman; in morals a good father and a kind husband; and that he had a good library in St. James's square. Here I should have been for ever stopped, if I had not, by accident, met with one Mr. Lindsay, a Scotch parson, since become (and I am sure it must be by Divine Providence, for it would be impossible to account for it by secondary causes) Bishop of Killaloo in Ireland.——From this Mr. Lindsay, I further learned, that my Lord Hardwicke was celebrated for understanding the modern method of fattening a sheep as well as any man in Cambridgeshire. Here I was again stopped. But let not this paucity of marks, by which the fitness of character to station can be distinguished, surprise you in the case of Ireland. Cicero (and my Lord Hardwicke reads Cicero) many ages since, in the greatest state that ever ornamented and oppressed the world, discovered, in its first magistrate, precisely the same thing.—— "Nunquam erat audita vox in foro: nun- "quam periculum factum consilii; nullum "non modo illustre sed ne notum quidem "factum aut militiæ, aut domi; obrepsisti "ad honores errore hominum, commenda- "tione fumosarum imaginum."——"Pre- "turor item majoribus delata est tuis; noti "erant illi mortui; te vivum nondum no- "verat quisquam." Having arrived so far in my inquiry, respecting Lord Hardwicke, and finding every further effort unprodu-

tive, I turned the course of my labours towards the sources, whence I might acquire some knowledge of the person and conduct of that truly *great character* of the Doctor, our newly arrived Chancellor. The product of my inquiry, in this particular, was, that I discovered he had been a gentleman of the name of Mitford, who having received the ordinary education of persons intended for the profession of the law, and having been admitted to the bar, in order to bring himself into notice composed a little book, which contains a very good formulary for the scriveners and clerks, who are engaged in the labour of preparing those writings, which, in the language of the Courts of Chancery, are called pleadings, and which are, in their composition, notoriously the disgrace of language, and in their forms the vexation of justice. By the display of this sort of *erudition*, he became known, and by the exercise of the craft attendant upon it he became useful. The necessary effects followed. He who shews himself "in sordidâ arte versari" will get money: and money, in his profession, Mr Mitford did get, and with it that sort of consequence, which, in a money making community, is the general attendant of the lucrative exercise of any particular sort of skill. Office under the Crown followed, as is usual upon lucractive practice. As a law officer, all I could discover of Mr. Mitford was, that he had advised the Crown to commence certain prosecutions for high treason (Thelwall, Hardy, &c.) which he afterwards conducted, and in every one of which he failed. It must, indeed, be admitted, that there is not one word on the law of high treason in his own book of practice. From this law-birth, a sudden shift of the political helm jirked Mr. Mitford into the chair of the House of Commons. Every lawyer is, in a degree, a word-monger. And some confusion appears to have arisen in this gentleman's brain, from the name of *Speaker*, which is given to the office he then held. For, in the chair, he became so exceedingly garrulous, as very much to distress and embarrass, not only the opponents of government, but still more his own friend the Doctor. The Doctor was, therefore, determined that the counsellor who took the word speaker so literally, should be jirked back into his old birth of the law again; and, as the House thought it would probably, be safer from his clack, if he were totally removed out of the island, he was accordingly, upon the death of Lord Claire, with the *acumine contradicente* of the Commons, sent over to Ireland as Chancellor. Within the walls of his Court of Chancery here, he has shewn himself equal to the decision of suits. He is laborious and technical; and, if he talked less himself, and consequently, if he listened to others more, he would add dispatch to accuracy. Here ended the fruits of my labours in pursuing the acts of the former Counsellor and now Chancellor. That he is eminently skilled in the rules whereby injunctions are continued or dissolved, and in those for marshalling assets, and that he is acquainted with cases of trusts, I am very ready to admit. But in those great rules and powers, which impel and regulate the motions of the organs of a state; in that fine forecast by which the virtues of a particular nation may be called into action, without its perceiving the stimulation, and its vices may be repressed without its feeling the control—that this *truly great character* of the Doctor has one particle of skill more than his neighbours, I very much doubt. The eminent dexterity of a journeyman pinmaker would not lead me to infer from thence a conclusion of his knowledge in the principles disclosed, or in the classification established by that profound searcher into nature, Mr. Kerwan, in his mineralogy. I am willing to concede to the lawyer all that he has a right to claim. More than due praise is censure. I have observed, Sir, of the English law, that it is an insulated and peculiar study. It is pursued in modes and forms of reasoning, which belong to itself alone, and which would be useless in the investigation of any other object, either moral or physical, of the human mind. From this total want of connexion, either with the liberal arts, or the severer sciences, it follows, and is proved by experience, that though the labour bestowed on the study of the English law should acquire its object, it will not fit the mind for any other pursuit. It may cramp and narrow a mind naturally capable of expansion, but it never can add any strength to the original elasticity, with which nature may have endowed the faculties of any person, who has devoted himself to that profession. That there have been some men who have proved, that their minds could not be dragged down by the study of the English law, may be an exception, but not a rule against my argument. Lord Mansfield certainly, and, I think, Lord Thurlow, shewed that their general powers were not weakened by their partial pursuits. But, if because Lord Mansfield, being a lawyer, was the delight and grace of the private society in which he lived, and if because in the assemblies of his countrymen, and in the councils of his king, he could display the persuasive orator and the sagacious politician—if, therefore, I say,

such minds as the late Lord Kenyon and the present Lord Redesdale were permitted to play the wit in private, and the orator and the statesman in public life, their exertions would inevitably end in the disgust of their companions, and in the disgrace of their country. While I have been writing, Sir, a map of the West Indies happened to hang before me. My eye wandered, I know not why, upon it, and fixed upon one of those little islands, which have been lately, by the British troops, redeemed from the *capitulation* of Lord Cornwallis at Amiens. Give me leave to suppose, that, in the course of a few years, one of those little islands should become highly cultivated, and that a considerable portion of British property became vested in its land and in its trade. Suppose, that, by some unfortunate combination of events, this little island should be deeply shaken by insurrection within, and should be loudly menaced by invasion from without. Suppose a powerful fleet of the enemies of the British name lay to windward, ready filled with troops for landing, while a desperate band of ruffians were secretly arming in its bosom, ready to aid that landing of a foreign enemy. Suppose, in this distress, a committee of West India proprietors, whose money had been vested in this little island, should apply to the Doctor Addington for assistance: and suppose he were to rise up and desire them to quiet their apprehensions, for *that he had entrusted the care of their island to a very eminent sheep feeder from Cambridgeshire, who was to be assisted in all his counsels by a very able and strong-built chancery pleader from Lincoln's Inn.* Give me leave to ask you, Sir, who know the city much better than I can pretend to do, what would a sugar committee, issuing from one of their coffee-houses, say to such an answer from a British minister? Why, Sir, the walls of St. Stephen's, and the chambers in Downing-street, would be made to ring with their vociferous reproaches. And yet, Sir, to this situation is that portion of the united kingdom reduced; on the strength and vigour of which, at this moment, not only its own safety, but, as I have, in my former letter, stated, the safety of the British empire, and, consequently, I may assume the safety of Europe does entirely depend. Against the truth of the description I have given of its rulers, I may challenge the most daring supporter of the present government to produce me one single act in the lives of either of those *truly great characters* of the Doctor, which can entitle them to claim one particle of trust or confidence from the public, beyond the bounds and limits, within which I have encircled their exploits. On the chancery pleader, perhaps, I may have laid too great a stress—he is not of the first consequence—though, in a future letter, I may, perhaps, point out to you the mischiefs which the intermeddling of such a man in matters out of the course of his *practice* may occasion. But, with respect to Lord Hardwicke, it may be replied, that my challenge is unfair, because it is impossible to justify his having been appointed to the government of Ireland by any instances of *former* political ability, as the acceptance of his present office was his *first* political essay. What? Is he one of the tribe of the Hobarts, Westmorlands, and Camdens? Is he one of that tribe, who have been sent over to *us* to be trained up here into politicians, as they train the surgeon's apprentices in the hospitals, by setting them at first to bleed the pauper patients? Is this a time for a continuation of such wanton experiment? The gift of Lord Hardwicke to us, at such a period, cannot be compared to any thing else than the prank of Falstaff upon Prince Hal at the battle of Shrewsbury, when the Knight handed over his *Pistol* to the Prince. For indeed, Sir, by the present to us of Lord Hardwicke, that sentence has been proved to us in a bloody truth, which Falstaff said in a good humoured jest—"here's what will SACK a city."——I am, Sir, yours, JUVERNA.

P. S.—The description which you have given, in your Register of the 22d, of the torpor to which Ireland and Scotland have been reduced by the Doctor, and the plethora into which he has crammed London and its environs, exhibits the empire precisely under the symptoms of an individual afflicted with the disorder called the Incubus or night-mare, when all the blood of the patient is collected about the heart, and the extremities become cold and lifeless. Can this be the disorder which affects Great Britain? And if so, who is the Incubus?

INTELLIGENCE.

FOREIGN.——Mulha Row, a refractory free-booter who had resisted the authority of the government in Guzzerat, after having been once brought to submission, escaped to the mountains, and has again appeared in open revolt: the Rajahs in the Western part of the Peninsula have formed a league for his apprehension.—Futty Sing Gwicuar, the Mahratta Chief, has strengthened Ameda-bad, his capital, and has offered the Peishwa every assistance in his power.——Great disturbances prevail in Wewat, a tract situated in the heart of the Empire of Hindostan, the

inhabitants of which have ever been characterised as the most ferocious robbers in India.——By three different couriers from Smyrna, Acre, and Alexandria, the Ottoman Porte has been informed that Egypt is now completely under the command of the Beys and the Arnauts. Alexandria was the last place which the Turks surrendered: the garrison repulsed several attempts which were made to storm the city, but from want of provisions, and the immense superiority of the enemy, were finally compelled to capitulate. The Grand Segnior attributes the loss of the province more to the intrigues of some foreign powers than to the mutiny of the Arnauts, or the rebellion of the Beys. The Reis Effendi communicated the events to all the foreign ministers at Constantinople; and it is said, that the Divan hopes much from the interest which the Court of Petersburgh is expected to take in the affair. ——The Vice President of the Italian Republic has issued a decree regulating the manner in which all books, pamphlets, and other printed papers are to be examined before they are suffered to be issued to the public.—On the 19th of September, the Queen of Sardinia was safely delivered of twin princesses, who were baptized on the following day by the Pope, and received the names of Maria Theresa and Marianna.——In *ci-devant* Piedmont all Free-Mason's lodges, and all clubs and societies of a similar nature have been forbidden.——The Spanish Minister Hervas, who has been recently appointed minister of Finance in Spain, is father-in law to Gen. Duroc, and is now residing at Paris.——The Prince of Peace, it seems, is to be dismissed, and will then retire to his estates.——The recruiting of the Spanish army is carried on with great expedition throughout the whole kingdom —— Don Almeida, the Portuguese minister for the war department and for foreign affairs, has been nominated envoy from the court of Lisbon to that of Vienna.——It is stated in the Paris papers that Count Marcoff did not attend the last audience of the foreign ministers; and that he will soon be succeeded at the Consular court, by Prince Dolgorucky. ——Some emigrants of distinction have lately been arrested in France and confined in the Temple, on suspicion of being concerned in some intrigues against the government. Similar arrests have, also, been made in Holland, and upon similar suspicions.——The new Turkish Ambassador was recently introduced at the Thuilleries, when he declared to the First Consul the intention which his master entertained of maintaining that friendly understanding which had been so beneficial to the two countries; and, in return, received the assurances of Buonaparté that France was the most important ally of the Ottoman Empire. ——The disastrous consequences of the blockade of the Elbe become every day more evident on the whole bank of the river. So few vessels were never before seen there, and the Hamburghers complain that, if the same strictness is continued, it will inevitably produce the total ruin of their city. The remains of the maritime commerce which formerly passed through that channel now go through Tonningen, Rendsbourg, Kiel, and Lubeck, but are greatly inadequate to the necessary supply of that part of the North of Germany.——Gen. Mortier sent two of his adjutants to Schwerin to demand that the Duke of Mecklenburgh should send out of his territories the Hanoverian ministers who had taken refuge there, and that he should restore to the government of the Electorate all the property of the King of England, which had been secured within his dominions. The Duke, without complying with the demand, immediately sent expresses on the subject to the courts of Petersburgh and Berlin. ——The fortifications of Brussels, Liege, Donnick, Cortyrh, Namur, Menin, and many other places are to be demolished, and the ground upon which they stand is to be sold, as the frontiers of the Republic are so extended that those places will no longer form barriers.——Plans have been given in to the First Consul for connecting the Rhine, the Maese, and the Scheldt.——It will be recollected that, at the conclusion of the late war, many artisans and manufacturers went from England to France where it was their intention to settle. On the renewal of hostilities these expatriated adventurers were sent with the rest of the English prisoners to Fontainbleau, with an allowance of five-pence per day. Many of them have since enlisted in the Irish brigade which is forming there, at the rate of thirty-three pence per week: those who refuse are to be transported to the colonies. Of the English one-hundred and six are yet prisoners, nine have enlisted, and sixteen been sent to Brest; of the Scotch one hundred and twenty-two are prisoners, twenty-four have enlisted, and four been sent to Brest; of the Irish ninety-six are prisoners, one hundred and sixty have enlisted, and forty-six been sent to Brest.——The American papers state that the Yellow Fever has lately broken out in Philadelphia and Alexandria, and that great apprehensions are entertained for the safety of Baltimore and Boston.——The same papers also state that the French at St. Domin-

go were endeavouring to escape, on account of the successes of the negroes.—The following is an abstract of the trade from Russia to the United States of America, during the year 1802.—Number of vessels 57—306,905 poods iron—203,418 ditto clean hemp—33,891 do. outshot—2,466 do. half clean—7,667 pieces sheetings—10,313 do. ravens duck—10,877 do. sail cloth—464 do. tallow—1,050 do candles—60,172 arsheens narrow diaper—98,857 do. broad diaper—22,314 poods cordage—1,589 do. bristles—1,064 feathers—140,350 arsheens crash—850 poods glue.

DOMESTIC.——It has been rumoured, within these few days, that there were appearances of fresh disturbances in Dublin, that inflammatory hand-bills had been distributed, and that information had been communicated to the government, of the agitation of new treasons.——On the 5th inst. the commission of Oyer and Terminer will be opened in Dublin by the right hon. the Lord Mayor, when grand juries for the city and county of Dublin will be sworn in: the trials of those persons who are accused of high-treason will commence on the 7th.—Hugh Porter, a journeyman taylor, was convicted on the 25th ult. at Carrickfergus, of having borne an active part in the late rebellion.——In the London papers of the 1st inst. it is said that "government has determined not to receive the surrender of any "part of St. Domingo from the French "planters and merchants, nor to occupy "with our troops, a single fortress in that "island, the immediate evacuation of which "is now considered as a certain event."—The gazette of last Saturday contains the appointment of Lord Castlereagh, the Duke of Portland, Lord Hawkesbury, Mr. Secretary Yorke, Lord Glenbervie, Mr. Wallace, Mr. Golding, and Gen. Maitland to be commissioners for the affairs of India.——The King has been pleased to appoint John Halkett, Esq. to be Captain General and Governor in Chief of the island of Tobago.——The King has also been pleased to grant to the Rev. John Brereton, Clerk, A. M. the place and dignity of a prebendary of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury, void by the promotion of Dr. Thomas Burgess to the See of St. David.——At a council held at St. James's palace on the 26th inst. his Grace the Duke of Beaufort took the oaths, on being appointed by his Majesty, Lord Lieutenant of the counties of Monmouth and Brecon.——On the 27th ult. another message was sent down to the Custom House, stating that "there was no objection to Spanish, Portuguese, or other neutral vessels clearing "out for the ports of Spain-Portugal, but "that British vessels could not clear out for "those ports until convoy was appointed."—On Tuesday last, the 1st of November, in obedience to an order of the House of Commons, the agents for Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Mainwaring exchanged their lists of objections to the voters who polled at the last Middlesex election. The numbers objected to on the part of Sir Francis Burdett were 2367; on the part of Mr. Mainwaring 2194. Difference in favour of Sir Francis Burdett 173.—The numbers on the poll were—For Sir Francis Burdett 3207—For W. Mainwaring, Esq. 2936.—Majority for Sir Francis Burdett 271.—If each party is accurate in the objections made, after striking off the bad votes on each side, the final numbers will be—For Sir Francis Burdett 1013—For Mr. Mainwaring 569.—Majority for Sir Francis Burdett 444.—So that by this petition Sir Francis Burdett will gain a majority of 173 more than at the close of the poll.

MILITARY.—Papers and letters received from the Continent, by the last Hamburgh mail, state, that on the 14th ult., Berthier, minister of war, left Paris to inspect the different camps forming in the Netherlands and on the coast of France. This tour will occupy two weeks, at the end of which time the First Consul will set out to superintend the arrangement of the whole force intended for the invasion of England. He will command the expedition in person, and under him, Berthier will act During his absence, the republic will be under the government of the two inferior consuls. Preparations are making for his reception at Flushing, where general Monnet has signified to the magistrates that he may be speedily expected with a large retinue of generals, and also at Dunkirk, where he is to be preceded by fifteen battalions of infantry, two squadrons of cavalry, and a large body of the consular guard from Paris. Three regiments of French dragoons have been ordered from Hanover to Maestricht, whence they are to be sent to join the armies on the coast. Three regiments of French artillery are also to be sent from the Electorate to Flanders to join the army of general D'Avoust at Galoo; and on the coast of the Island of Cadsand barracks are building with the greatest expedition, for the cantonment of the troops which cannot be encamped on account of the severity of the approaching season. Barracks will also be built on the coast of Flanders to lodge the troops which are assembling there.—Great number of carpenters have set out for the coast between Ostend and Blankenburg, and likewise for Walcheren, in all

which places barracks are to be immediately built.—Almost all the troops from the frontier fortresses of Old France have been marched to the coasts of Belgium, Holland, and the northern and western parts of France. Twelve thousand men are now on their march to Utrecht, where a camp is to be established. A park of two hundred pieces of artillery is nearly completed at St. Omer's; and twelve thousand men are collecting at Cherbourg. —General Ney is expected from Swisserland, to take the command of the two camps which are forming on the right and left of Dunkirk: his head-quarters will be at Salperwyk.—The combined French and Italian army, now in Italy, amounts to about fifty thousand men, besides nine thousand which are stationed at Verona and Mantua. The army which General St. Cyr commands, in the Neapolitan and Papal dominions, amounts to about thirty-six thousand men. Austria has, also, a very considerable force in the Venetian territories; but at present there is no appearance of hostilities.—The division of General D'Avoust will consist chiefly of light troops, and will, previous to its embarkation for England, be increased to sixty thousand men.—General Augereau is hastening to take the command of the troops assembling at Bayonne, and, on his way thither, stopped at Paw, on the 11th ult. and reviewed the 88d demi brigade.—Upwards of twelve thousand men are encamped in the neighbourhood of Boulogne, and large bodies of additional troops are daily arriving The whole coast, from Etape to Calais, forms one continued line of batteries, and generals have been dispatched to the northern coast to expedite the preparations for the grand attack. All the generals holding commands in the army of England have been directed to hasten to their places of duty, and assist, by all possible means, the measures preparing for the invasion. The First Consul is, however, still at St. Cloud, and at his leisure witnesses the manœuvring of the boats at the dock of the Invalides. It is universally allowed, that he will immediately join the grand army on the coast A field lodging, said to be very portable and convenient, has been constructed for his use. A decree was published on the 4th ult. for raising a company of guides and interpreters to be employed in the invasion. It will consist of one hundred and seventeen men, including the captain, four lieutenants and subalterns. It is to be formed by voluntary enrolment at Paris, and in the sea ports from Ostend to St. Malo: the qualifications for admission are, a knowledge of speaking and translating the English language, a previous residence in England, and a topographical acquaintance with the country. The Irish who are in France, and the young Conscripts, who do not form part of the army, may be received into this company if they possess the requisite qualifications. The officers are to be appointed by the First Consul, but the subalterns by the Minister at War. Their uniform is to be a short green coat with red facings, and white hussar buttons, white waistcoat, leather breeches, American boots, and black bronze spurs. They are to be armed with a musket, bayonet, and sabre.—A new organization of the French army is about to take place: The number of corps of infantry and cavalry are to be diminished, but the number of men is to remain the same. Demi-brigades are to be incorporated and receive the name of regiments, by which the expense of the staff will be greatly lessened. The heavy cavalry will be reduced to ten regiments of cuirassiers, and the dragoons will serve both as infantry and light cavalry.——On the 15th of September, the government published a decree relative to the recruiting of the army, and the organization of the Conscripts of the reserve. This decree regulates the appointment of 60,000 of them among the different veteran corps. They consist of one half of those drafted for the year 11, and one half of those for the year 12, whose active services were required by the military law passed during the last session of the legislative body.

NAVAL.—Early in the month of September, an expedition consisting of thirteen armed schooners, having on board upwards of seven hundred men, was fitted out at Guadaloupe, for the purpose of destroying the arsenal and port of Antigua. They were, however, met on their passage by the Emerald frigate, who succeeded in taking three of them and driving the rest back under the batteries of Guadaloupe. The Emerald sustained some loss by venturing too near to the enemy's guns on shore.——On the 27th of October, captain Brenton, in his Majesty's sloop Merlin, attacked and drove on shore, near Gravelines, the French privateer Les Sept Frères, carrying two carriage guns and a great number of small arms, and manned with thirty men. Notwithstanding a constant fire was kept up from some field-pieces on shore, the privateer was completely destroyed, and the Merlin suffered no injury whatever.—A great number of small vessels are said to have been lately purchased by the government at Liverpool, for the purpose of being converted into gun-boats.—— The merchant ships in Holland and Belgium are put in requisition for the expedition against England. Those who offer their ships

voluntairly are to receive ten florins for freight per last, besides a premium of two hundred florins, and some other advantages on the success of the attack: those who are compelled to yield their ships for the service, are only to receive the freight.——All the Dutch fishing boats are to be assembled at one place, and, for the present, to be drawn on shore. Letters from Holland say, that, notwithstanding the great activity with which their naval preparations have been carried on, they will not be completed before the middle of the present month.—— It is reported on the coast of Italy, that lord Nelson is preparing an expedition against the Island of Elba.

TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD FOLKESTONE.

LETTER I.

MY LORD,—As that state of things, which is the natural offspring of the *defensive system*, and which was, long ago, so forcibly described by you,* appears now to be very near at hand, I have chosen, as a vehicle of my sentiments on some points connected with the general subject, the form of a letter to your lordship.——Of this fatal system, the Volunteer-corps establishment, appears to me to form the characteristic feature; and, therefore, to that point I beg leave first to solicit your lordship's attention.——You, my lord, who are in the camp with General Moore and his brigade of homely coarse-dressed soldiers, can hardly conceive what fine shows we have lately had in the neighbourhood of the metropolis; and, though you will, perhaps, have read of them in the London newspapers, it will require some additional information to enable you to form a correct notion of the degree of safety, which the *country* is, in case of need, likely to derive from the 30,000 men, who have been recently reviewed in Hyde Park, and to whom the Commander in Chief has been pleased to say, that "the *loyalty* and *patriotism* on "which the *Volunteer system was founded* "may enable us to *hurl back* on our ene- "mies, with becoming indignation, the "*threats* which they have presumed to "vent against our independence and even "our existence as a nation." To hurl threats back upon an enemy certainly means to threaten that enemy in the same way that he threatens you; but, I, for my part, cannot perceive, how the Volunteer system can possibly enable us to menace without exposing ourselves to ridicule and contempt, the territory of France with invasion, her government with subversion, and her people with slavery. Not to criticise, however, too minutely words, which, all circumstances considered, it may be proper to have used, on the occasion referred to, I shall, my lord, proceed to point what I regard as the principal defects of the Volunteer establishment; and, in order to give your lordship a view of both sides of the question, I shall first lay before you the arguments, which have been opposed to the opinions, which, on this subject, I have already submitted to the Public:—

"The Gazette of Saturday contains a very "flattering communication from the Com- "mander in Chief by his Majesty's order "to the Volunteers of the metropolis, re- "specting their appearance on Wednesday "and Friday last. It certainly is highly "creditable to the country that within little "more than three months an army of almost "30.000 men has been formed immediately "within the capital. No man in his senses "pretends to say that these corps are equal "to troops of the line, or could with pro- "priety be opposed singly to veteran forces. "It is not the question, whether the Volun- "teers supersede an army, but whether the "country is not in a better state of defence "by possessing so many Volunteers who "have acquired a certain proficiency in "military exercises, and who require no- "thing but what all young troops want, ex- "perience and practice, to be fit for any "service. It is easy to say that the Volun- "teers are not good soldiers; but would the "men who appeared in Hyde Park on Wed- "nesday and Friday, have been more useful "to their country, in a military view, had "they still been sunk as they were before,

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* "Against this plan" [of defence] "I must "object *in toto*, and for this very plain and sim- "ple reason, that, of all the plans that can be "pursued, this, more surely than any other, will "bring on the country speedy and inevitable de- "struction; and, the more complete the plan, "the more likely to be adequate to this dreaded "effect, the more speedy and more certain will "be the ruin. In that case the country will pe- "rish by the weight of its own defence. It will "then be exactly in the case of a man, who, "when attacked by an active enemy should say, "I do not want to hurt my enemy, I only wish "to defend myself; so I will wrap myself up in "a good suit of armour, in a coat of mail, and "then I may be perfectly at ease. But, what "would be the event? Not only if any of the "nails were to give way, or, if there were to be a "little rust, or any weak part, or the joints were "to open, would the enemy be immediately en- "abled to thrust in his poignard, and give a "mortal stab; but, *without any such accident, would "it not be certain, that this man must soon fall down "faint and oppressed by the weight of his own arms?*" —Speech of 14th June, 1803. Register, Vol. III. p. 1800.

" in the habits of business? Are they not " now comparatively efficient? Have they " not now acquired a spirit for military oc- " cupations, which, if well directed, may " prove highly useful? Are they not now " more qualified to defend themselves than " if on the alarm of the enemy's approach " they had been caught behind the desk or " the counter? We are utterly at a loss, " therefore, to conceive why the system of " the Volunteers should be treated with con- " tempt, and every effort made to induce " them to think meanly of themselves, and " to render them contemptible to the enemy. " ——If any body were so foolish as to " think of employing the Volunteers as a " separate army, if any body were so absurd " as to compare them to regular troops, it " would be perfectly just to expose their " defects, and to demonstrate the necessity " of a different and superior kind of force. " But nobody, we believe, ever did pretend " that the Volunteers were equal to a regu- " lar army. We think, however, that with " great propriety the Volunteers might be " called the Army of Reserve. They cannot " be the army first called upon; they can " be called upon only in small propor- " tions, because they can be useful only " when called to act in small proportions " with a number of troops much superior " to themselves. But when the regular " army knows that such a mass of reinforce- " ment remains to join them if necessary, " it will add new confidence to their ef- " forts. Nor is there any danger that the " attention which the Volunteers experience " will excite jealousy in the army. The " army cannot but see, that of all the kinds " of military force that can be devised the " Volunteers come least in competition with " them. The Volunteers will encroach nei- " ther upon their honours nor their rank. " They come forward in a moment of pecu- " liar danger to the public defence, and " having performed this duty they will re- " turn to their former occupations.——We " are far from wishing to flatter the Volun- " teers, or attempting to make them think " themselves, or make others think them, " what they are not. We do not believe " Sir William Curtis, or Alderman Le Me- " surier, to be any thing like so good officers " as General Massena or General Lecourbe. " We see very well, however, that the Vo- " lunteers may be useful to a certain degree, " and we see no reason to quarrel with them " because they are not calculated to be as ef- " ficient as any military force can be. They " do not interfere with the regular army, at " least those of the metropolis do not. If " they did, it would in the present circum- " stances be a serious objection to them. " Then why endeavour to depreciate them? " Nothing is more true than that men act " well in war, particularly in proportion as " they think well of themselves. *Possunt* " *quia posse videntur.* Is it then very patrio- " tic or very politic to teach the Volunteers " to despise themselves, and teach the army " likewise to despise them excessively, " which might at some future period be the " source of infinite dispute and disorders? " Surely it would be more wise to cherish " a military spirit among the people, even " though that spirit might show itself in " many fopperies and follies. Every man " in this country cannot at present be alto- " gether a soldier. But why, at such a mo- " ment, laugh at those who endeavour, as " much as their situation allows, to catch " something of the spirit, and to acquire " something of the business of a soldier? " A time may come when every man must " become a soldier, and if it does, every man " will be the better for what he has learnt as " a Volunteer, and the state will be the easier " defended for the spirit which the Volun- " teer system has excited.——We have " thought it right to make these few re- " marks, in consequence of observing a dis- " position to depreciate the Volunteers, be- " cause they are not what nobody ever ex- " pected them to be—equal to troops of the " line. It is not too much to say, however, " that they add greatly to the national secu- " rity: that they give the government an " entire command of the regular army, and " by this means they prodigiously increase " the active disposable force of the country. " They may therefore greatly facilitate any " offensive operations which it may be " thought proper to undertake, and in this " way perhaps may be understood the ex- " pression in the general orders of the Com- " mander in Chief, that the spirit of loyalty " and patriotism, on which the Volunteer " system was founded, may enable us to " hurl back on our enemies, with becoming " indignation, the threats which they have " presumed to vent against our indepen- " dence, and even existence as a nation."

This, my lord, is, as far as my observation has extended, the best, or, at least, the most plausible defence, that has yet appeared, of the Volunteer establishment. But, as a weak cause always produces hollow reasoning, here we constantly find conclusions drawn from premises which have never been admitted.——Before I enter on the merits of the case, it seems necessary to say a word or two in reply to the charge,

which these writers are very fond of preferring against me, of "treating *the Volun-* "*teers* with *contempt*, and making every "effort to induce them to think meanly of "themselves, and to render them contemp- "tible to the enemy." Now, it so happens, my lord, that most of the noblemen and gentlemen, with whom I agree in politics, and for whom I have, on every account, the highest possible respect, *belong to volunteer corps*, there being no other way left, wherein they could contribute towards the defence of the country. And, here I cannot refrain from observing on the contrast which the conduct of these persons exhibits, when compared with that of some of their opponents. The former were accused of holding the language of despondency, of disheartening the people, of inviting invasion, and of sacrificing the safety of their country to the indulgence of political and party animosity. Has this charge been corroborated by the conduct of the Duke of Richmond, of the Marquis of Buckingham, of Earls Fitzwilliam, Radnor, and Spencer, of Lords Grenville, Carysfort, and Minto, of Mr. Windham, Mr. Grenville, Lord Temple, Mr. Elliot? These, and every other of the new Opposition, that I can now call to mind, are, and have been, during the whole summer constantly and earnestly employed in organizing and training men for the defence of the country, while no very small proportion of their *patriotic* accusers have been engaged in party intrigues, or in courting the rabble of the metropolis, seeking, in short, for private emolument and the gratification of personal vanity.

The writer of the above-quoted remarks first states, or at least alludes to it, as an unquestioned fact, that an *army* of 30,000 men has, within the space of three months, been formed immediately within the capital, and, that, such an exertion is highly creditable to the country, that is to say, including the ministry. The conclusion would certainly be very fair, and even very modest, were not the premises unfounded. It would, indeed, be not only a creditable, but a glorious circumstance, had 30,000 soldiers been raised, in the space of three months, by the voluntary exertions of the metropolis; but, alas! my lord, the 30,000 persons alluded to are not soldiers, and as without soldiers there can be no army, these persons are not an army. Then, as to time, as far as relates to the ministers, *three* months is not the space: it is now, my lord, *six* months since the war was resolved on by them, and *eight* months it is since his Majesty announced to Parliament the necessity of providing for the protection of his dominions against the force, which was even *then* assembling on the coast of France. Having pointed out the fallacy of this statement, I shall reserve, for another part of my letter, what I have to say as to the dispatch that *might* have been made in this space of time.

"It is," says this writer, "not the ques- "tion whether the volunteers supercede an "army" [just before he had called them *an army*], "but whether the country is not "in a better state of defence by possessing "so many volunteers, who have acquired "a certain proficiency in military exercise, "and who require nothing but what *all* "*young troops* require, experience and prac- "tice, to fit them for service." Here again is a conclusion without admitted premises, and even, without any attempt to establish the premises from which it is drawn. Yes, the country would most assuredly be in a better state of defence if its volunteers were such as are here described, than if it had no volunteers at all, nor any other sort of force in their stead; but, will any one assert, that this is a fair description of the generality of the Volunteer-corps? Will any one at all acquainted with military affairs, say, that the proficiency in military exercise acquired by these corps is not more than overbalanced by the injury which they derive from the spirit of indiscipline infused into them by their club-like constitution? Will any man say, that the Volunteer-corps of the metropolis, or of any large town or towns; that corps composed generally of men of all ages, of delicate constitutions, of an inactive way of life, many of them of corpulent bodies, and, not a few, of decrepid limbs; will any man say, that such corps, governed by committees and sub-committees, often assembled *en masse* to debate and pass resolutions: will any man of common sense and common modesty seriously say, that such corps "require *nothing* but what "*all young troops require*;" nothing but what is required to perfect, for the field of battle, young men, who have no hope but in the army, who have, from the moment of their enlistment, been subject to martial law, and whose bodily capability has been ascertained by the review of a commanding officer, and by the scrutinizing examination of a surgeon? The description here given, then, not applying to the London volunteers, nor, indeed, to those of any other of those corps in the kingdom, it follows of course, that the argument founded thereon, can be nothing worth, and that the question

is altogether mistated. "The question is," says the writer, "whether the country is "not in a better state of defence by pos- "sessing these volunteers, *than it would* "*have been without them.*" No; this is *not* the question. The question is, whether the country, by having these volunteers, is in a better state of defence than it would have been, *if the exertions and expense, bestowed on the volunteers, had been bestowed on any other species of force.* There was a mass of means to be applied to the defence of the country; and, we are not to content ourselves with asking, whether the ministers have made *any application at all* of these means, but are to push our inquiries further, and ascertain whether they have made, as to quantity, manner, and time, the best application that the means would admit of. There are numerous objections to the establishment of corps upon the plan of the present volunteers, a few only of which shall be now stated. At the head of all the rest stands the want of martial law. This law would not, it is true, have been acted on in the drilling under the General Defence Bill; but, the men assembled under that bill would not have had the same liberty of *chousing their own officers*, of absenting themselves at pleasure, and of quitting, with impunity, the class or company or other division, in which they might have been enrolled; and, above all, there would have been no committees and sub-committees, and general meetings for debating and resolving.—The General Defence or General Training Bill was very defective, particularly with regard to the regulations respecting *age*. The assembling in one class of persons from seventeen to thirty years of age was very unwise; but, in the corps of volunteers, boys of fourteen and men of threescore, lisping infancy and tottering old-age are both in the same rank. — The men most fit for a soldier's life, and, indeed, almost the only men, who are fit for that life, are those who have been chiefly employed in agriculture and in occupations bearing an affinity thereunto; but, the volunteer corps, from their very nature, necessarily exclude almost all men of this description. Every hundred or district, had so many men to furnish, in order to avoid the operation of the general training law: each parish should, of course, have furnished its share; but, the villages and hamlets, the places of abode of the farmers and labourers, were found too widely scattered, and possessing too little proneness to foppery; so that, the town or the largest village generally furnished almost all the men wanted in the hundred or district. Thus the farmer's men and labourers were excluded; and, accordingly, out of the 240,000 volunteers, it may be safely averred, that, if we except the yeomanry, there are 150,000 shop-keepers, or persons who, as to mode of life, are equally ill-calculated for the performance of the duties of a soldier. "Would the men," asks the writer, on whom I am commenting, "who "appeared in Hyde Park on Wednesday "and Friday, have been *more useful to* "*their country*, in a *military* point of view, "had they still remained totally sunk in "habits of business? and, are they not "now more qualified to defend *themselves* "than if an alarm of an enemy's approach "had found them behind the desk or the "counter?" Supposing there to have been *no other* men in the country, than those of whom the volunteer corps are composed, these questions would be pertinent, reasonable, and fair enough: if the nation had been literally and entirely what the French have contemptuously termed it, a *shop-keeping nation*, why then, the corps must, if they had been formed at all, have been made up of shop-keepers: but, there were *other men*, my lord; and, if I am told that those other men did not come forward, my answer is, that they would, by another sort of regulation, have been brought forward, and would have constituted a force easily managed, always at hand, and safely to be relied on. The question, therefore, is not, whether "the men, who appeared in Hyde "Park, would, in a *military* point of view, "have been more useful to their country, "and more able to *defend themselves*, if the "enemy had found them behind the desk "and the counter;" but whether they would not have been more useful to their country, in a *civil* point of view, by remaining behind the desk and the counter, and by paying ten thousand *real* soldiers to defend both their country and themselves.—It is allowed, that the volunteers are not fit to meet the enemy. "No man in his senses "pretends to say, that those corps could "with propriety be opposed *singly* to vete- "ran troops;" and, in another place, this writer says, "if any body were so foolish "as to think of employing volunteers as a "*separate* army, it would be perfectly just "to expose their defects, and to demonstrate "the necessity of a different and superior "kind of force." But, are not the volunteers *brigaded* separately? Has not this error, which Mr. Windham, in his speech of the 10th of August endeavoured to prevent, been given into in its fullest extent? And, if they are to act in brigades, must they not

act *separately*, must they not be opposed *singly* to the enemy, if ever they are opposed to him at all? There may be, in the army engaged, brigades of regulars as well as of volunteers, but still the volunteers will be separately engaged, as far as their efforts are concerned: and, it will be of no advantage to them, that there are brigades of regulars engaged on the same day, and at half a mile or a mile's distance. If the volunteers were, upon being called out on actual service, to be *drafted* into the regiments of the line; if ten or a dozen of them were to be placed in every company of regulars; then, indeed, they would not be opposed *singly* to veteran troops; but, as long as they are kept together in regiments and brigades, they must, though not constituting the whole of an army, ever be considered as intended to be so opposed. All the reproof, therefore, which this writer aims at those, who should propose to employ the volunteers, as a separate body; all the folly, all the madness, which he allows would characterize such a proposition, applies directly to the ministers, and to those, of whom they have, as to this point, followed the advice. ——But, before we amuse ourselves with inquiries respecting the probable consequence of employing the volunteers singly against the enemy, it were well if some plan was adopted for ascertaining whether they would march against the enemy *at all*, a point upon which I have ever entertained very serious doubts. I do not speak here of the yeomanry; they certainly would march, and render good service. Nor do I doubt of there being several corps of volunteer infantry ready to perform all the duties that could be expected of them; but, of the volunteer corps, generally speaking, of that mass of showy shop-keepers that are seen swaggering over the green sward in the neighbourhood of large cities and towns, particularly the metropolis, I am fully persuaded, that one-tenth part could, by no earthly means, be prevailed on to remain one entire week from their homes. In some few instances, this has already been tried, and exactly what was foreseen and foretold has taken place: some positively refuse; others beg to be excused, and are excused; the few that go, go with a very ill-will, though but for a few days at a time; the *poorest* only will stir, and the parish is instantly loaded with the expense of maintaining their wives and families, whose clamours are so much the louder as they look upon their husbands as being employed *solely* for the defence of the rich. These corps are, in fact, not made of *moveable* materials. The volunteer system is a fine piece of machinery to look at and to brag about, but the moment it comes to be put in motion, it tumbles to pieces.——As to the observation, that "a time may come when "*every* man *must* be a *soldier*, and that "then, every man will be the *better* for "what he has learnt *as a volunteer*," though extremely plausible, is also extremely fallacious. The volunteer corps are, as was stated on a former occasion, "seminaries "of indiscipline," and not preparatory schools for the army. The volunteers do, indeed, learn to handle a musket a little, and to stand in rank and file, and march; but, this they learn so imperfectly, that a drill-serjeant would complete for the battalion, a squad of lads from the plough tail, in a much shorter space of time than he would a squad of men, sent him from a volunteer corps. In the volunteer corps men learn to be unsteady, careless, and disobedient. What they learn in these corps is not so much done towards making them soldiers; but, generally speaking, so much done the contrary way; so much to be totally unlearned again, before they are fit to begin to learn the real duties of a military life. To say, therefore, that a man will be a better soldier for what he has learned as a volunteer, is not much less preposterous than it would be to say, that he is likely to make a better royalist, because he has been initiated in the principles of republicanism.——It is acknowledged, that, "if "the volunteers *interfered* with the regular "service, it would be a very *serious objec-* "*tion* to them;" and, that they *do interfere* with the regular service, and in a most injurious way too, every one must allow, who is aware of the slowness, with which that service is now supplied with recruits, even including the men, who are raised for the army of reserve. This is one of the very greatest evils of the system. It is now perfectly plain, that, in and about the capital as well as every where else, the great motive for entering into these corps, has been, the escaping of the ballots for the militia and the army of reserve; for, the moment a doubt is excited upon that point, as the whole of the law upon the subject is full of doubts, half the corps begins to fly off; and, from the blessed state of this volunteer institution, it is very difficult to find what means there are of retaining them. Out of the 240,000 men, comprized in the Volunteer-corps, there are, perhaps, about 160,000, whom these corps serve as a sanctuary from the constables, and other hard-hearted and evil-intentioned persons, who

roam about seeking whom they may drag into the militia and the army of reserve; and this 160,000 deducted from the numbers of a ballot list, which, from one cause and another, is already become very bare, not only throws a great additional hardship on all those, who do not join the Volunteer-corps, but it materially retards the completion of the regiments of militia and the battalions of reserve, while it assists in swelling up still higher the enormous bounties, which are given in those two branches of the service, and which, in the army of reserve, have long since been, forty guineas, upon an average, for a single recruit. Am I told, that nothing can retard the filling up of the militia and the army of reserve, because the counties are *obliged* to furnish each its quota? My answer is, that where men are not, men cannot be had, either by counties or by parishes; and, as to the fact, it is well known, that some of the regiments of militia are not, to this hour, more than two-thirds full, while, instead of 50,000 men for the army of reserve, more than 33,000 have not yet been raised; and, in this latter branch, the deficiency, in Great-Britain, has chiefly arisen from the exemptions, which have almost universally been granted, in favour of the members of Volunteer-corps. Nor is it a circumstance by any means to be overlooked, that, in point of size and soldier-like qualities, the army of reserve and the militia are suffering very much indeed from the same cause that retards the completion of their numbers.—— But, the Volunteer system tends to the injury of the army in another way: it does, indeed, tend to the total subversion of it. The most dreadful of all the consequences, from the immense mass of undisciplined force now got together, and from all the steps, now, and at the beginning of the last war, by which the discipline and character of the army has been assailed, is, the dread of such an effect on the army as was, by that most unwise measure of quota-men, produced in the fleet. The character and spirit of the army is, indeed, excellent, at this time; but, is that a reason why every possible temptation is to be thrown in its way? The drilling of these unruly corps of Volunteers is sometimes performed by serjeants and corporals of regular regiments. These serjeants and corporals will assuredly learn no good and soldier-like habits, in return for the lessons which they give; and, though I have, as I once before observed, in speaking upon this subject, the firmest reliance on the army, it is really too much to suppose, that they can live, for any length of time, in a country swarming with *undisciplined* men dressed in soldier's clothes, without imbibing something of the manners of those men. What, then, would be the consequence, if the Volunteer-corps, or any considerable portion of them, were to be actually quartered, or encamped, with regiments of the line? In such case, they must frequently be drawn up together, upon the same parade; must mount guard together; and, in short, perform all those garrison and camp duties, which necessarily produce an intermixture of corps. In such a situation, is it not impossible, my lord, that the usual discipline should be preserved in the regiments of the line? Absolutely impossible; for to treat them with greater severity than the men of other corps lying in the same barracks, or the same camp, and actually doing duty with them in the same picquets and guards, would most assuredly produce discontents not easily prevented from breaking out into open mutiny; and, as to the bringing of the Volunteer-corps to submit to the discipline of the line, none but a madman would ever attempt it. "Oh!" say they, "but when "we are *called out*, we shall be put under "*martial law*;" and, they are to be called out "when the enemy appears in force "*upon the coast*." It will, indeed, then, be high time to put them under martial law, if not a little too late. They are very fond of *talking* about this martial law, as they are about every thing else, and, if one could possibly believe it, some of them affect to wish that they were under that law already. Alas! poor innocents, if such be really their wishes, little do they know of the nature and operation of martial law! The speechifying shop-keepers of great towns in particular are not aware, that the very first effect of that law would be to sweep away all their general meetings, their committees, their sub-committees, their resolves, their *constitutions*, their *bye-laws*, and all that caballing democratic trumpery, which now disgraces the system, but of which it is, in the eyes of a very great portion of the volunteers, by no means the least valuable part. All this would be instantly swept away. But still martial law would not be exercised in these corps. To exercise public authority of any kind, there must be found persons, not only duly authorised, but heartily disposed, to exercise it; and, to render them so disposed, there does, ninety-nine times out of a hundred, require some motive other than that of mere desire to serve their country. If this observation be correct as to public authority in general,

with what peculiar force does it apply to the case, which I am now submitting to your lordship's consideration? If it requires, not only oath upon oath, but reward upon reward, and, in case of neglect, penalty upon penalty, together with all the stimuli of promotion; if all this is required to make an excise-man do his duty, where, I should be glad to know, are we to look for motives sufficient to induce the officers of a Volunteer-corps to bring to a court-martial, to try according to the strict rules and usages of the regular service, and to *punish* according to those rules and usages, one of their *equals*, their neighbours, and, perhaps, one of their customers? Shall I be told, that, being on service with the line, officers of the line will frequently mix in courts-martial to try the Volunteers? But, *regimental* courts-martial will be composed entirely of Volunteer officers; and, your lordship's experience will convince you, that it is in the spirit and the decisions of regimental courts-martial only that we are to look for the means of preserving what is called discipline. Before these courts come all those examinations, which introduce the officers to an intimate knowledge of the character of the men: here crimes are nipped in the bud; and here, or no where, we are to look for the disposition and the resolution to try with impartiality, and to punish without fear. And, does any one believe, *can* any one believe, that five officers of a Volunteer-corps, of *any* common Volunteer-corps; five officers chosen from among the tradesmen of the parish, to which the corps belongs, will pass sentence of three, four, or five hundred lashes upon one of their neighbours for happening to get drunk upon guard? No man in his senses will affect to believe this; and, even if such sentence were to be passed, does any one believe, that it would ever be executed? that shop-keepers would be found so unnatural as to tie up a shop-keeper, and others to lay on the cats, and that the rest of the corps would stand round quiet and contented spectators of the ceremony? Will it be said, that such a trial of the docility of the Volunteers would never be necessary? I am sure that your Lordship will not say so; for, with all your mildness and forbearance of temper, you must long ago have been convinced, that the proverb of *sparing the rod* is full as applicable to a regiment as to a family. There are differences of opinion as to the *sort* of punishment, that ought to be inflicted on a soldier; but, in the whole world there never was an instance of a regiment's being even kept together, for any length of time, without the inflicting of punishment, and *severe* punishment too, of some sort or other: nor is this circumstance any more dishonourable to the army, than is the existence of penal laws to the community at large. But, perhaps, it will be urged, that Volunteer-corps will consist of persons of very different morals and manners from those who compose the regiments of militia and of the line; and, that, having come forward purely for the good of their country, there can be no reason to suppose, that they will ever so behave as to merit any punishment at all. For my part, my Lord, I am one of those who are ready to dispute the point as to morals and manners, in both which respects I do most sincerely believe, that any one of our fairly-recruited and well-commanded regiments of the line, very far surpasses the common run of Volunteer-corps; and, as to the public spirit and patriotism of the Volunteers, though I should be glad to forget their exemption from the ballots of the militia and the army of reserve, and though I am ready to allow, that great numbers of them are actuated by motives the most laudable, and do really wish for an opportunity of defending their country; though I feel no reluctance to allow this, I can by no means admit of the doctrine, that a regular soldier is, because he receives constant pay for his constant service, less attached to the welfare and honour of his country, than a Volunteer who receives no pay now, but who is to receive pay, the moment he moves from his home. The consideration of morals and of patriotism being thus thrown aside as of no weight in the argument, we shall find that there is, as to the point at issue, no difference but that of *habits* between regular soldiers and Volunteers, and that here the disadvantage is all on the side of the latter. It is very easy to be obedient, or, rather, to put on the semblance of obedience, during a parade in Westminster Hall, or a field day in Hyde Park. With the back unburdened, the belly well fortified, the palate yet moist from the glass, the feet untired, and the smoke of the chimney always in view, it requires little more than a disposition commonly civil to make men perfectly obedient to all the trifling commands they receive. But, bring them to the end of a long march, hungry, thirsty and weary; with aching backs and with blistered feet: then come the cross looks, the angry words, the fierce contentions; then is the time to see, whether their morals and their patriotism will supply the place of discipline; then, when one man is contending with another which shall sleep in doors and which out, which shall be sheltered from the storm and which exposed to it; then is the time to try whe-

ther men are, in the capacity of soldiers, to be preserved even from the bayonets of each other, without the due and strict execution of military law. In short, my Lord, one has only, for a moment, to suppose a case like this, in order to be convinced, that the Volunteer corps can never, with any chance of being useful, be employed on actual service, in the field. They cannot be *drafted* into either the militia or the line; on one another they would never execute military law; and, without such execution, they would not only be of no use themselves, but would ruin the discipline of the army, throw it into confusion, and bring on it inevitable defeat and disgrace. Some persons speak of the actual service of the Volunteers, as if it were to last only a few days. They seem to suppose, that when the enemy lands, or, when he "appears in force upon the coast," for that, I think, is the whimsical condition; then the Volunteers will be put under martial law, will be marched to join the army the next day, will fight the enemy the day after, will have a dinner and a drink together the third day, and, on the fourth will march home again, with drums beating, and colours flying, amidst the triumphant huzzas of their friends, their neighbours, and their customers. So that, really, according to this notion, martial law will be a mere matter of form; for there will hardly be time to summon, to assemble, and to hold a court-martial, to say nothing about the execution of its sentences, before the enemy will have been cut to pieces, the country saved, and the martial-law order, of course, revoked. That your Lordship would most heartily join me, in *wishing* that such might be the case, there can be no doubt, were not the thing too absurd to exist even in idea. If the Chief Consul of France invades this country, after a preparation of six or nine months, is there any man who will affect to believe, that the invasion will not be *formidable*, whether it be made by one mighty army, or by several smaller bodies making towards as many different points, at the same moment of time? We have here nothing at all to do with the question, whether an invading army can, or cannot, elude, or brave our maritime force: the affirmative is admitted by the military attitude we have taken; and, as to the Volunteers, in particular, either they are *very likely to be wanted* to repel invasion, or their establishment is the severest of all satires on the sense of the country. If, then, an invasion does take place, can any one believe, that it will be of a magnitude and description so trifling and contemptible, as to be frustrated and put an end to in a few days, or even a few weeks, and that the volunteers, who shall be called out, will have merely a march to perform? An invasion of ten thousand men, my Lord, would keep the Volunteers, or part of them, from their homes for several months; and if the threat is executed upon a large scale, whether as to strength of army, or as to number of points, two thirds of the Volunteer corps must, if another sort of troops be not provided in their place, be called out, and be kept on actual duty, for at least half a year; and, when the hardships of a real military life, joined to all the calamities of absence from home and from business, come to be encountered by these men, judge you, my Lord, how they will bear it, how many of them will remain with their corps, and in what degree they will be disposed to inflict on each other the punishments dictated by military law; and, above all, my Lord, I pray you to consider, what, in such a state of things, may be, nay, what *must* be, the fatal effects, which their factious and disorganizing example will produce on the army, on that army, which, if debauched and corrupted, leaves us at once to bend beneath the yoke of our enemy. —— From this frightful idea, from the fear of this most dreadful consequence of the Volunteer system, we always find people turn, for consolation, to the opinion that the Volunteers will "never be wanted to join the "regulars;" and this we hear, too, my Lord, from the very persons, who, at other times, allow, that "no man in his senses pretends to say, "that these corps could, with any propriety, be "employed *separately* against veteran troops!" Complain, that the Volunteers will destroy the discipline of the regulars, and you are instantly told, that they are brigaded by themselves; say that they are not fit to encounter veteran troops, and the answer is, that no man in his senses thinks of employing them separately; talk of the hardships which they will have to undergo upon the coast, and their advocates hesitate not to reply, that those hardships are to be borne *only* by the regulars and militia, notwithstanding the appellation of *defenders of the country* is given exclusively to the Volunteers, and notwithstanding they have, in that character, received the thanks of the House of Commons, and have been recently told by the Commander in Chief, that the spirit, on which *their system* was founded, has enabled us *to hurl back on the enemy* his threats of invasion and destruction.

Having now, my Lord, endeavoured to point out the defects of the Volunteer-system, to describe the inconveniences and the dangers, attendant on this part of that com-

brous armour of mere defensive war, so amply and so ably delineated by your Lordship, I should now proceed to examine some other of its parts, and to suggest a remedy for the evils, of which I complain; but, this must be deferred till another opportunity. In the meantime, however, I cannot refrain from observing, that it is very far indeed from my wish to be understood as censuring the conduct of the Volunteers, many of whom, the far greater part, I trust, would, were they placed in a proper situation, behave with great bravery in defence of their country and their Sovereign. It is not the *men*, but the *system*, that I dislike, that I censure, and that I hope to see abolished; not because it is not the *best* system that could have been invented, but because it is the *worst*; not because it is not sufficient to *save* the country, but because its evident tendency is to *destroy* it. I am aware, however, that I shall be charged with having endeavoured "to make the Volunteers *think meanly of* "*themselves*, and to render them *contemptible to the enemy*." But, as to the former part of this charge, if the Volunteers can be reasoned out of a correct opinion of their own strength, courage, dispositions and intentions, the confidence they at present feel is not very strong; and, if their opinion upon those points be not correct, it is doing them a favour to make it so. To render them contemptible to the enemy might, indeed, be seriously urged as a political offence, did we not daily and hourly hear these same accusers, expressing their *wishes that the enemy would land!* Either the volunteer corps are truly described by me, or they are not; if they are, the nation is at present deceived with regard to them, and is, in this respect, relying upon a broken reed; and, if they are not, if we have in these corps 240,000 fighting men, then, if the enemy believes me, I am leading him into a most dangerous error, and, if he does not believe me, then he will not contemn the volunteers: so that, in whatever direction my opinions are traced to their consequences, it will be found, that the charge against them falls blunted to the ground.——The charge of communicating intelligence to the enemy is, indeed, a most convenient thing in the hands of the ministry; it is a thing of universal application; it fits all persons, all places, and all topics: this charge and the charge of "*creating* despondency" have been aptly enough termed the *two winkers*, with which the ministers and their partisans have contrived to keep the nation from looking about it. By the means of this contrivance, both the parliament and the people have been led contentedly along to the very verge of the precipice. Every word that is uttered, in doors or out, tending to produce a conviction of the defects in any of the measures of government, immediately becomes the ground of one or the other of the above-mentioned charges; and, that, too, in the mouths of those, who have laid it down as a *maxim*, that government ought to *follow*, and not to *lead*, the people. In the ministerial pamplet, entitled Cursory Remarks, it is described, as "a characteristic *failing* and *misfortune*" of the Pitt and Grenville family, that, as to the measure of defence, for instance, "they "would have had it *their* measure, and not the "*nation's*; it would," says the author, "have "been *their* act, and *now* it is the *people's*." ——Mr. Archdale, on the subject of the Army of Reserve, said: "it is to the spirit "of the *people* we must trust, and *not to* "*government*; for, whether Parliament assent, or not, to the measure now proposed, *their* voice will be of *little avail*, "without the *concurring voice of the people*;"* which doctrine has since been formally sanctioned by the minister himself. "I ask," said he, "whether without *the* "*voice of the public*, whether without the "*popular sentiment taking the lead*, such a "bill" [the General Training Bill] "could "ever have been carried into effect"† To speak to the ministers is, then, become perfectly useless, until you have produced conviction in the people, and, indeed, until you have prevailed upon the people not only to adopt your opinions, but to join you in requiring them to be acted upon; but, here, comes the other obstacle, you must not complain of the present measures, if they relate to topics of war, because you thereby "create despondency", and "invite the enemy to invade us!"——This has been called a *weak* ministry, my lord, and, in some respects, it certainly is so; but, if it be suffered to fortify itself with barricadoes like these, I am greatly deceived if it will not prove too strong for the liberties and independence of the nation.——I have the honour to be, my lord, your lordship's most humble and most obedient servant,

November 1st. 1803. W. COBBETT.

* See Speech of 30th June, 1803.
† Speech of 4th August, 1803.

Printed by Cox and Baylis, No. 75, Great Queen Street, and published by R. Bagshaw, Bow Street, Covent Garden, where former Numbers may be had; sold also by J. Budd, Crown and Mitre, Pall-Mall.

ON THE PURCHASE OF COMMISSIONS.

SIR,—The present aspect of the political horizon appears big with mighty and important events. The die is now cast.—And the most collected and decisive energies must be employed, to vindicate our honour, our independence, our existence as a nation.—Threatened with the horrors of invasion by the licentious and sanguinary hordes of the Gallic despot; surrounded by domestic innovators, who meditate rebellion and the complete destruction of our venerable constitution and government, our country presents to Europe a magnificent and interesting spectacle.—Either Rome must perish, *aut delenda est Carthago*.—Again our wooden bulwarks must gloriously triumph, and victory, on her indelible tablets, swell the gallant list of our naval heroes, or dreadful alternative! man to man, and shield to shield, the embattled line must rage, on our paternal fields, to maintain with the formidable and insolent foe the dubious contest for all that is dear to social and civilized life.—Although on this momentous occasion every thing may be anticipated which a nation, distinguished for heroic courage and intrepid magnanimity, can display, stimulated by that *amor patriæ* which vibrates so strongly in the British bosom, and which so proudly characterises them among the nations; yet, notwithstanding, the most prudent and vigilant circumspection, the most enlightened and energetic measures must be promptly adopted, in order to consolidate our internal security.—Should our bold and adventurous enemy, allured by the irresistible stimulus of indiscriminate plunder, by a fortunate concurrence of the elements, elude the vigilance of our fleets, (and who from a false misguided confidence would presumptuously assert the impossibility?) it is then in our army we must confide: it is to it we must look up as the impenetrable ægis of our defence.—I would not here be understood to associate with the name of army, or as forming a constituent part of it, the motley battalions of *reserve*, volunteer associations, &c., which form such a heterogeneous and anomalous mass of indigested materials; whose numbers would only serve the more deeply to embarrass, and whose aid would only tend to accelerate a defeat; which serve only to impose upon the public false ideas of inefficient strength: in short, the mere gingerbread automatons of a puerile puppet shew.—There are other military institutions in the country which though apparently more respectable, are equally insignificant in point of real utility.—But as these are so distinct in their organization, and as the members which compose them in general constitute one of the most enviable branches of our happy constitution, they shall be more particularly discussed on a future occasion. The *line* shall more immediately claim my present attention; and it is under this appellation I mean to designate the army.—The brave and heroic men who compose this, I need not here attempt to panegyrise; their gallant intrepidity, their indefatigable perseverence, the toils, the danger which they have so magnanimously braved, the miserable privations to which they have so cheerfully submitted, on the most difficult and important services, and the splendid achievements they have performed before the eyes of the world, have immortalised their valour; and yet, at this momentous crisis, how little has been done towards the improvement of this army! How reluctant, languid, and procrastinating are the steps which have been hitherto pursued to improve the present miserably defective system of our military economy!—This is not a time to procrastinate; nor is it a time for us silently to behold injudicious, improvident, and unjust distribution of the rewards of merit diverted into channels which pollute the sources of our honour, degrade our service in the face of Europe, and officer our army with mere higgling and mercenary brokers.—To expatiate on this ample field, where such foul and deleterious weeds vegetate in such rank profusion, ought long since to have challenged the attention of every mind, which takes a generous interest in the welfare of its country, and feels animated with the genuine sentiments of loyalty and patriotism.—The task is not an Herculean one—and to accomplish it only requires a cheerful and vigorous exertion;—it requires nor skill, nor scientific knowledge—and the remedies may be administered with perfect safety.—Common sense may judiciously prescribe, and an undiploma'd hand may operate, when the regular physician with his empirical aphorisms, and technical impudence declines to officiate without the prospect of a fee.—Dazzled by the brilliancy of our military exploits, it is natural to inquire to what we ought principally to attribute these splendid successes of the British arms? Is it by a fortunate combination of the skill and experience of the officer, who from the subaltern to the general ascends through each gradation of rank by distinguished merit, superior talents, and veteran services alone? Is it by means of these, united to the bravery and discipline of the soldier, that our armies lead so often to glory and conquests?—Let us do justice to the inquiry; let us im-

partially discriminate. To affect a delicate reserve on a subject of such national importance, which calls so loudly for legislative interference, and which, if continued longer, must tend to precipitate our ruin, would not only be dangerously absurd, but, in a certain degree, traiterous to our dearest interests.—In recurring to the weekly Gazettes of promotion, in order to consider the merits of this interesting question, heavens! what an indignant blush must crimson the check, on discovering, that in place of the different gradations of rank being filled up by those only of distinguished merit, talent and veteran services; that a most pernicious system of commission-brokering has lately risen to such a serious and alarming height, as threatens shortly to degrade us to the most humiliating insignificance in the eyes of Europe, and indelibly brand us with contempt and irretrievable infamy.—The mercenary and avaricious spirit which this disgraceful system of buying, selling, and exchanging of commissions must necessarily introduce into the service, will be rapidly productive of incalculable evils and misfortunes to the country.—In place of having our regiments officered by gentlemen, brave, disinterested, and emoulous only of promotion as commensurate to their services, a pestiferous swarm of mean, selfish and mercenary individuals continue daily to be inundating the service, with a sordid view of bringing their money as to a common mart where they can lay it out to the best advantage.—These, instead of devoting their attention to acquire a competent knowledge of their professional duty, and render their services useful to their country, study with avidity all the mercenary chicane and selfish finesse of commission-brokering, exchange, &c.—Hence, in consequence of these shameful and pernicious practices, the meritorious and experienced veteran is excluded from every prospect of promotion, unless an affluent patrimony or powerful friend are ready to sanction his otherwise inadmissible pretensions. The many hard campaigns he has fought, the toils he has endured, whether under a vertical sun, or amidst the regions of the north avail him nothing. But whilst, on one hand, we see this poor, unprotected, though brave and deserving, veteran, after having languished out the vigour of his life in the service of an ungrateful country, at length retire unpitied, unbefriended, meanly to exist on the thread-bare provision of a penurious half pay; on the other, with inexpressible regret and indignation we remark raw, inexperienced youths elevated to the rank and dignity of field-officers through mere dint of family or pecuniary interest, who it is well known are ignorant how to head a platoon or lead on a half squadron.—How easily may this plain and melancholy truth be demonstrated in examining the War office Gazettes only for a few months back. What interesting information might be drawn from thence by an accurate list of those names which have in that short period alone appeared by the necromancy of exchange in several gradations of rank, and a comparative statement of such as have been promoted on account of their merit, and as a reward for distinguished services well known and approved by the country. Alas! alas! the execrable *livre rouge* of the old French court never exceeded the infamy and corruption so manifest in the registers of British military promotion.—It is true, warrants have been from time to time issued, to correct, to suppress, in short to preclude, the possibility of these infamous clandestine bargains being transacted. But what are War-office warrants, what are specific regulations fulminating his Majesty's displeasure at the *smallest deviation* being *even meditated*. — When officers commanding corps, and the parties concerned in these mercenary negotiations will meanly, will villainously, prostitute their *honour* in every memorial, and daringly evade by private agreements those wise and salutary restrictions for which these warrants were expressly framed to lay upon mercenary and interested individuals.——Entrenched within a golden barrier, inaccessible in the heights of office, this formidable combination has long been fortifying itself, so as to mock the idle assaults *of an insulted order*——"And o'er their heads the royal thunder rolls——and lightnings fall *innocuous*."——But the hour of investigation is approaching——the black catalogue shall be produced, and *retributive justice* will *vindicate her own*.—What an humiliating conclusion must we then draw, how degrading to the generous character of the British name! But, in order to remedy this pernicious evil which we thus affect to deplore, which breathes such a withering blast on the laurels we have so gloriously won, and casts such an obloquy on the national spirit, what salutary correction ought then to be applied? The best organized and most formidable military establishments in Europe point out a remedy for our acceptation, as *palliatives* will oftentimes accelerate dissolution, the sources of this polluted stream must be examined, the deleterious poison, transfused through the mass, must be completely eliminated. The ranks of our army are filled with gallant men, not alone distisguished for courage, and

intrepidity; for, intrepid courage, unless conducted under the auspices of prudence, and matured experience, united to genius, talents, possessing a promptitude and inexhaustible fertility of resources, happily accommodated to the most doubtful circumstances of the moment, is oftentimes productive of the most serious misfortunes. But united to personal bravery, we have numbers equally distinguished for professional knowledge, scientifically cultivated, who are every way qualified to grace the most dignified and important situations in the army; and yet, *decus! decus et patria!* scarce one of these brave and meritorious men have even received a common medal, the humblest order of merit, as a testimony of his services; but reverse the perspective! What innumerable instances daily occur of *school-boys* just *emancipated* from the terrors of their *usher's rod*, by the *necromantic power* of money, stepping by a *bold metamorphosis* into *military office*, and, in as many gazettes as he ought to have served campaigns, superseding many an adult and neglected veteran who has faithfully served his country with a distinguished reputation. —Such is the system by which our military economy is at present regulated; thus are the rewards of merit disposed of—thus completely inverted the just and regular gradation of rank. Hence our army lists are swelled with names from the subaltern to the general officer unknown to their country, but as they appear in the gazettes of promotion—hence that *illustrious galaxy* of characters which composes our present general staff, and hence that *British military phenomenon, a soldier of merit, elevated to the dignity of a subaltern's rank, conferred upon him without purchase, as a grateful testimony of having deserved well of his country!!* I wish it not to be understood that any of the above allusions are designed to be insidiously levelled at our illustrious commander in chief, or his *personal military administration*. No: the universal esteem and popularity which he has so deservedly acquired with the army, are a sufficient panegyric on his splendid talents, indefatigable attention, and paternal care for its prosperity and welfare.—The generous solicitude which he has so often manifested with a view of ameliorating the service is well known—more fortunate would it have been for the interests of the country, had the administrative powers supported his exertions and done justice to his wise and enlightened operations. The discretionary powers which the high responsibility of his station indispensibly requires, in order to give a decisive effect to his measures, have been too often cramped and thwarted by the malignant influence of ministerial interference. Surrounded by satellites, who industriously conceal, from his knowledge and observation, the accumulating abuses which have with such impunity crept in, and maintain their post with such daring effrontery in every branch of the military department, must necessarily account for the timid and temporising system lately pursued at the Horse-Guards and in the War-office, which ought at this time most vigorously to co-operate, in order to reform the abandoned depravity of the present organization and economy hitherto practised.—Let that be now cheerfully adopted and performed with a grace, which necessity will in no long space of time imperiously dictate. In order to preserve the constitution, before the vitals are assailed, let the corrupted members be amputated, or let the axe be applied to the root, and this flagrant unconstitutional abuse of military policy, the holding of commissions, by purchase, be abolished in our service; let that natural spring of emulation and heroic energy in armies begin to operate with us in its fullest pride: let the rewards of merit and veteran services be distributed with a liberal hand, and let our military youth, by a salutary course of gymnastic exercises, and of a preparatory education for the service, aspire to honour and fame, by a patriotic zeal and generous emulation to excel. Let effeminate novels, cards, and dice yield, or at least hold a secondary place with Saldern and Dundas—let our fashionable heroes learn to figure with as much ease and grace through the various positions and evolutions of a battalion or a squadron, as they can figure across a ball-room or down a country dance.—Let them familiarise themselves to as much practice of the natural optic in the field, in order to acquire the important knowledge of the coup-d'œil—as they do in reconnoitring in the streets, with their opera-glasses, the female loungers and demireps; then we should no longer with shame and contempt hear of officers marching at the head of a platoon under the majestic canopy of an umbrella, or dealing deaths around to every passenger they meet with the levelled tubes of their telescopes!—Let it not be imagined that our design is to rouse expectation by a few general declamatory observations: a long and elaborate detail of circumstances must be brought forward—truths will be preferred, the proximate causes of this pernicious evil will be minutely investigated and explained, and remedies proposed. It is our wish to convince the public that it is not by the dash of a diplomatic pen that a campaign is fought or a battle won—that it is not the deep mouthed artillery of the Trea-

sury Bench which can destroy an invading host, nor the brilliant Philippics of a fluctuating opposition that can stem the torrent which threathens to overwhelm us, or turn the keen edge of the hostile faulchion which is lifted up against us, that neither the nice and elaborate calculations of the budget, nor voluntary contributions, nor civic enrollments, nor armies of reserve, can work out the salvation of the country--that nothing can make the declining orbit of our military glory shine out with renovated lustre, and its half extinguished rays shorn of all their beauty, reflect once more the proud and luminous characters which decorate the venerible shrines of our immortal forefathers, but the complete abolition of holding commissions by purchase, or at least regenerating the present disgraceful and corrupted system.

VIRGINIUS.

TO THE EDITOR.

SIR,——The great struggle we are engaged in, against the unbounded ambition of a restless foe, appears to have operated with a few individuals, whose minds are, no doubt, so enervated as to make them forget the proud and generous character, which has ever distinguished Englishmen in the field of battle; and in their panic, they seem to wish to sacrifice the dignity they derive from the valour of their ancestors, and hold out the language of cowardice in recommending the barbarous maxim, of giving no quarters to the enemy, from a dread of seeing them enter their luxurious abodes, which they do not feel themselves disposed to defend. I beg therefore, to remind them, of the sentiments delivered by a Roman General, who lived in times not dissimilar to the present, and saw the capital of the world plundered, and committed to the torches of the destructive Gauls; but who never sullied the profession of arms, by such acts, as are recommended by these degenerated Britons to whom I allude.——War, at best, said Camillus, "is a savage thing, and wades "through a sea of violence and injustice, "yet even war itself has its laws, which "men of honour will not depart from; "nor, do they so pursue victory, as to avail "themselves of acts of villainy and base-"ness."——What! will British soldiers debase themselves to execute that diabolical decree, at which, even the blood-hounds of Robespierre shuddered?—No! they will to a man exclaim: "perish the thought," and prove, what they have ever been, terrible in battle, but generous in victory, and will hold in the same contempt, those men, who entertain such unmanly sentiments, with them who allowed the pride of this free nation to be trampled upon by the petulent ruler of France; and who, after having committed the honour of the empire, by their diplomatic quibbles, dread the sight of their antagonist, conscious of their neglect in preparing to meet him in the field of battle, where all ill conducted negotiations are generally ratified.—Here crouds on my mind such a calamitous continuation of blunders in our political and military operations, that I cannot encompass them in the narrow limits of a letter, neither would it perhaps answer any good purpose to develope them in the present circumstances; but, Sir, will it be believed hereafter, that the present administration, after having been *forced*, by public clamour to warn the nation of the approaching storm, after spending an entire session in framing confused bills, not yet understood, for the defence of all that is dear to Englishmen, who spontaneously turned out to meet the enemy, that they should be told at last, notwithstanding the numerous taxes they pay towards the defence of the empire, that there were no *arms* in the military magazines, and that they must provide themselves in the best way they could, or apply to the Board of Ordnance for pikes, which were not resorted to, from a conviction of their advantage when intermixed with muskets, but from an *actual* deficiency in the stores of *Great Britain*; on whom is the blame of so shameful a neglect to alight? Not on the Master General of the Ordnance, for he is president of the council, and notwithstanding he is an *active man*, and an *experienced officer*, cannot be supposed to attend the council board, inspect the ordnance stores, and discharge the duty of a general officer commanding a district; allowing him ten hours in bed, the remaining fourteen can scarcely be sufficient to attend to such an immense weight of business; however, notwithstanding all these disadvantages, it is to be hoped, the skill of the present pilot will weather the storm, and bring the ship to a safer anchorage than the late one.—Perhaps, also, when the self armed people have cleared the land of the disorders which threaten it, some good doctor will, with modest assurance, tell them, that it was *his* pills, and not *theirs*, that purged the country, and restored it to health and vigour.—But, I confess, Mr. Editor, that I have more confidence in the nature of Englishmen, and rely more on their good constitution than on the abilities of the quacks, who administer their nauseous drogs in spite of the poor sufferers who seem to be sensible of the poison they

are forced to swallow, and commit themselves to the interference of Providence as their only safety,; and, if fasting can appease its wrath, it is likely we shall ere long, have the benefit of his merciful hand.——That it may soon extend its blessings over our poor country is, I assure you Sir, the sincere wish of———AN ENEMY TO QUACKS.

October 30th, 1803.

TO THE EDITOR.

London, 31*st Oct.* 1803.

SIR,——I have read with considerable satisfaction your observations upon the measures of government for defence of the country, and the childish importance attached to the volunteers. Ministers have certainly much to answer for, and the country will do well to consider, if men who have left the coast of Norfolk, and a large important maritime district of Scotland, I may say totally unprepared to resist an active and vigilant enemy at the end of seven months war of professed invasion, are likely to carry us through the approaching dreadful contest, with any reasonable prospect of success.——I confine my observation to Norfolk and the Northern district mentioned by Lord Meadowbank, because they have been publicly declared in a defenceless state, by those who are best informed, and have most interest in stating the truth; but, I believe, Mr. Cobbett, much time will not elapse before public representations of a similar nature, will be made by the magistracy or principal inhabitants of every maritime county, except Essex and Kent. Thanks to the exertions of Mr. Pitt, a large portion of the latter is rendered perfectly invulnerable. The public will scarcely believe, that Tilbury Fort has not more than 200 men in it, and that not even a volunteer corps, of which ministers are unhappily so fond, is raised in the neighbourhood, who might assist in working the guns, and in that instance, from their familiarity with the climate, and from the nature of the service be of real utility in case of sudden need. It really seems as if our prudent and honest ministers, as they are termed, thought the whole summer had been well spent in attending to the volunteers, and that now having raised and officered on paper a large number of them, the country was placed out of danger. But, I hope you will continue your exertions to undeceive the country, and save it from the otherwise fatal effects of the vanity, ignorance, and good intentions of the present worthy premier and his coadjutors.——At such a time surely ministers would have advised his Majesty better, in recommending his reviewing the troops in Essex, Kent, Sussex, and Hampshire, and in visiting our fleets at Portsmouth, Deal, and the Nore, than in courting the applause of the London Mob.——By a continuance of your exertions, I hope the public spirit and energy of the country will be enabled in some measure to supply the want of efficiency in our directors, until their course is seen, and it certainly cannot be a long one, which is some comfort to your friend, A. Z.

ON RIFLE CORPS.

SIR,——Military subjects, have, of late, been so much the topic of conversation that even our slumbers are disturbed by military dreams. Armies of reserve, levies en masse, fortifications for the protection of London, and canals for inundating Essex, pikes, bayonets, and guns, and all the bloody implements of war, are the only objects of our thoughts. Nothing can dissipate the frightful images which haunt our imagination. The kind and prolific pens of our gazetteers, who have hitherto soothed our fears, now convey nothing but accounts of the myriads of gun boats which cover the coast of the channel, and which are to convey the ferocious legions of Buonaparté to our shores. In this state of dread it is natural that we should endeavour to find out some means of protecting the inhabitants of this once happy island from the desolation which marks the footsteps of those sanguinary republicans. War becomes the theme of our studies, and we are anxious to find in some of its numerous branches of tactics, the means of organizing our defence. It will not be denied, that empires are, as well as men, examples of vicissitude; and, surely, their military system should keep pace with the changes which time produces in manners and government. It is unfortunate that the defects of one system must be felt before another will be adopted; and there is at all times great difficulty in persuading those who are in power (who are often defective in managing what is already established) that there is a necessity for a change; and it is, probably, owing to that selfish stubbornness that nations are suddenly convulsed with revolutions, which a prudent change of men would have prevented.——What suited in Queen Elizabeth's days, cannot with propriety be applied to the present times, particularly in military affairs; because the affluent cannot be governed like the poor, and because the soldiers of a luxurious nation, are unable, *however brave*, to sustain the same fatigues and

privations as those of a poorer one. The greatest empires that have bowed to the yoke of barbarians, and their overthrow proves the truth of this position. Indeed, to doubt it, is to indulge in the fancies of an idle dream. The general who expects the same corporeal energy from men nurtured in the lap of comfort, as from those, whose greatest luxury consists in mere sufficiency, will be disappointed. Why have the Cossacks been able to perform those extraordinary marches which contributed to Suwarrow's fame; but because, they were inured to hunger and fatigue from infancy. And, how does it appear that the English cavalry, the finest, and bravest in Europe, melts away in the course of a common campaign; but because the horses being pampered with food, and spoiled with care, are no longer able to act when they are deprived of the portion of each to which they have been accustomed. This may in some degree apply to the infantry, which ought to be divided according to the original habits of those who constitute it. The Scotch, Irish, and Welch, are certainly more accustomed to privations, though not superior in courage to the English.—This induces me to offer an opinion, which will, probably, be rejected by men in power, from an apprehension that they might be suspected unfit for the great offices they fill, if it were imagined they were reduced to the necessity of taking the advice of those who have nothing to recommend their opinions, but their well earned experience in the field.—However, I will offer mine, such as it is; and shall ground it on the difference of character among the people of whom this empire is composed, applying it to the new system of warfare, introduced by the French, in the course of the revolutionary war; during which, they wrested the greatest victories, from the valiant and veteran battalions of their opponents, by the assistance of the increased numbers of light troops. The proportion was probably formed by the plan which the Emperor Leo recommended to his generals, and by which it was proposed, that one third of the infantry should be used as light troops. No officers who have served against the French, who adopted that proportion can deny the advantages they derived from it.—It is well known, that the Romans seized with eagerness whatever appeared useful in the military systems of the nations they subdued, and we need not object to such an illustrious example.—I would, therefore, propose, to the consideration of those who direct our military affairs, to establish corps of terrailleurs, composed of Scotch, Irish, and Welch: they should be formed into three distinct bodies, to act in as many lines, in front of the solid line of battle. The poverty of the countries they inhabit, and consequently, the hardships to which they are inured from their birth, make them peculiarly adapted to the kind of service which I propose for them. If the British army had had these kind of corps in Holland, the loss in officers would not have been so considerable. Our ill success there, however, recalled to the mind of our commanders, similar losses sustained by the British troops in Flanders; and after having acquired experience in those *two* expeditions, we have begun to take advantage of it, and have *already one* regiment of riflemen commanded by an able and experienced officer, one of the King's aid-de-camps. Its excellencies were too fully established in the last war, to need any further elucidation. But without dwelling more on that head, let me call your attention to the use of the musket, which I think, I can prove to be in some cases misapplied. In introducing the subject, I will first quote a French author of some repute, who says, in speaking of the present order given to infantry, "that since "war has been known, he does not remember any civilised, or savage nations having "formed their line of battle less than four "deep. Nothing but a kind of fanaticism "could produce a contrary military phenomenon." He adds, "that he has known "some officers who lamented such narrow "ideas, but did not despair to see it reduced "to two deep; should the Prussians, or "Austrians give the example: as for himself, he hoped to see an end to so erroneous a system, and that good sense "would one day claim its right. The order "of four deep is undoubtedly the least that "can be given to infantry."—Now, Sir, let us examine how far this may be applicable to our present system, of which, I have already endeavoured to point out the defects. Notwithstanding my ill success, however, now that we have every thing at stake, I again offer some observations to our generals. I wish them first, to consider maturely the purpose for which muskets are intended. Secondly, what is the most efficacious method of applying their advantages, and then to reconcile their use with the present mode of fire, and also to connect them with the bodily resistance of lines, when the bayonets are to supercede the fire. I must insist, that the fire of a third rank, has no effect, but that of adding to the consumption of ammu-

nition, and for the truth of what I now assert, I need only appeal to any officers who have seen it practised on service. But, without referring to them, I will only say, that of late we have constantly fired two deep, which sufficiently proves the opinion generally entertained of the inefficacy of that of a third rank. I shall now ask what sort of consistency a long line of two deep can have? for even during the course of an hour's engagement, it cannot preserve its order, much less can it give or receive a shock. If the truth of these positions were admitted, the natural remedy, would undoubtedly be, to unite the advantage of fire, to that of consistence. If it is granted that a line two deep is too weak, it must also be allowed that the fire of a third rank is of no avail, and the bayonets (which are the most effectual weapons in the hands of British soldiers) too short to be any protection to the front rank. It now remains to determine, what offensive arms ought to be placed in the hands of the third rank; and, I believe, when we consider the immense demand of muskets at present, and the advantage of lances, it will be found, that their use might facilitate the formation of any Army of Reserve. The use of the lance, has been always recommended from a principle, founded on nature (which I am sorry to say, has been of late too little attended to in our tactics) because, the man who has the power of attack only, will naturally look to that as his only safety. In short, it will perhaps occur to military men, who may chance to peruse this feeble essay, that the fire of musketry from a line, has been much disused of late by the continental armies. They have found more benefit from it, in the loose and irregular way in which it has been applied by the French, who generally engaged with a line of terrailleurs, supported by a second line, behind which, is the main body. Thus, when the main body engages the enemy, they very often find him in some disorder, caused by the terrailleurs, who create still greater confusion on the enemy's flanks, and give the main body every advantage to attack, and press boldly on the enemy. This is called a charge, and this no troops can make more effectually than the British. At this time, when all Englishmen are called upon to defend those homes which our wise and excellent laws have rendered so comfortable; it is fair that those who have acquired any military knowledge, should offer their share to the public. This I do cheerfully, conscious of its generous indulgence.

A late Captain in the Army.

TO THE EDITOR.

Dublin, October 25, 1803.

SIR,—I have read with true satisfaction the letter of your correspondent *Juverna*, on the subject of Ireland. It gives me true pleasure to see a probability, that the system and measures of the present wretched and inadequate administration of that country are likely to be fully developed and exposed, and that some hopes may be entertained that this important part of the empire may be rescued from its present weak and corrupt governors. I shall be happy to lend my feeble aid in this disagreeable, though necessary task. I applaud *Juverna* for his generous endeavour to vindicate from unmerited obloquy, the fair fame of that gallant and veteran soldier General Fox, and who, if he does not abet his own disgrace by a pusillanimous and mercenary compromise, will soon, very soon, triumph over the cabals of the Hardwickes, and be restored to that rank and eminence which he had so honourably acquired, and of which, by base misinterpretation and intrigue, he at present stands divested. It is now evident, that Mr. Addington found the discontents of the Irish at the supineness, ignorance, and imbecillity of Lord Hardwicke, relative to every circumstance preceding the late rebellion, so well founded, so general, and so formidable, that he felt it indispensable to take some strong measure to appease an indignation, which, if totally disregarded, might burst forth with most dangerous effect. Misconduct somewhere was undeniable. Blame and criminality were obviously imputable. Censure and punishment were deservedly called for. The only difficulty was whom to make the victim, who could with least ministerial embarrassment be made a sacrifice to national indignation. The recall of the lord lieutenant, the delegate of the ministry, the brother of the new secretary of state, might have created too strong a conviction in the cabinet, and necessitated an inquiry, which could not have been resisted. Such a measure might have implicated the whole ministry; but there was no such danger in sacrificing the commander of the forces; he had no support but his tried and acknowledged merits as an officer, which can never stand in competition with the claims of the lowest clerk in office, the opposition and present unpopularity of his brother were favourable to any attack, the inactivity and unprepared state of the military on the 23d of July, were complained of generally, while

the reasons for them were unknown. The recall therefore of this officer might appear as some kind of condescendence to Irish complaint, would be a seeming justification of Lord Hardwicke, and was not calculated to produce any ferment in the cabinet or any serious consequences in parliament. The measure therefore of recalling General Fox was resolved upon as a measure of state and policy to appease the Irish loyalists, and to clear the conduct of Lord Hardwicke.

From this recall of the commander of the forces of Ireland, not six months after his arrival in the kingdom, and immediately after an insurrection and rebellion, which had occasioned the most general complaint of criminal negligence in some department of administration, is there a man in the united kingdom who does not feel, that whether the imputed blame and criminality be duly ascribed or not to General Fox, that upon him and upon him alone is the entire charge centered by the present cabinet? General Fox is recalled by the cabinet. That recall under all the obvious circumstances of the case is condemnation by the cabinet, and at this moment he stands in the eyes of his country, and in the face of all Europe, as convicted by his Majesty's ministers of flagrant neglect or gross incapacity in his situation of commander of the forces in Ireland, and as the officer to whose culpable negligence, the disasters of the 23d of July, and the murder of Lord Kilwarden are imputable. Such being the present situation of this valuable and meritorious officer, I have only to hope that he will not, as I have said abet his own disgrace. He feels truly conscious that he has done his duty; that if blame be imputable, it is not to him; multitudes are willing to testify in his favour, if appealed to.—Let him then provoke and demand inquiry, and let all criminality be traced and fixed upon its real author.——I have reason to know that general Fox acted, with regard to the rebellion of the 23d of July, according to the impressions given to him by lord Hardwicke, and to those alone. Every man knows, that in this constitution it is the duty of the military power to be subordinate to the civil. All matters of police, the investigation and knowledge of the sentiments and disposition of the people, all tracing of plots, conspiracies and rebellions, are solely within the civil jurisdiction. The military power, except in case of open rebellion and invasion, never act without the previous direction and present guidance of the civil magistrate.—What then will be the issue of inquiry?—It will appear, that since the arrival of general Fox in Ireland, to the breaking out of the rebellion, lord Hardwicke impressed upon general Fox that the country was in the most tranquil and secure state. It will appear, that when a mill for the fabrication of gunpowder was detected in Patrick street, a printer of one of the newspapers was reprehended by the Castle for representing this mill as an engine of rebellion.—It will appear that no intimation of any probable disturbance was mentioned to general Fox till two o'clock on the 23d of July; it will appear that when lord Hardwicke mentioned the subject to general Fox he gave no credit to it himself, and that when the general requested his excellency's orders, he desired that no measure should be taken that could create alarm; it will appear that lord Hardwicke, so entirely discredited all the information he had received, however strong, and various, that he did not communicate it to the chancellor, certainly not to poor lord Kilwarden, nor, as it was his bounden duty, did he summon a council to consider it, nor did his excellency even send to the lord mayor on the subject, but went home to his residence, in the Phœnix park, to his private dinner, in as full security as on any former day of his government. It will further appear that Marsden, the civil secretary, dismissed all his office clerks to sleep in the country, and that his military secretary, Sir Ed. Baker Littlehales, gave a large carousing dinner in the Castle, and never broke up from table till the unfortunate Miss Wolfe was brought frantic into the Castle guard-house.——Such are a few of the points which will be substantiated on inquiry, all fixing censure on lord Hardwicke, all exculpating general Fox. We fear, however, no inquiry will be made. It is said, the general's mouth is to be stopped, that a foreign command of high consequence is preparing for him, that he is to be silenced, rewarded, and kept out of the way. But, in the name of those laurels, which the general gathered in America, in the name of that renown which he acquired in the face of the allied army, and in the eye of the Emperor at Tournay, we call upon him not to be the pander of his own disgrace, or to seal his dishonour by any mercenary sanction. — There is another point which *Juverna* has brought to light, and for which he deserves the public thanks; I mean the daring and profligate manner in which the new attorney general's emoluments are to be increased at the expense of the nation, and in defiance of public faith; but *Juverna* has not disclosed the whole of this transaction. The case is this: the chief profits of the attorney general of Ireland used to arise

from his fees for drawing the money bills of each session. These fees ceased with the Union: and a compensation was granted by act of parliament to Sir J. Stewart, the then attorney general, for the loss of these fees. This compensation was, by the act, personal, amounted to near 2000 l. a year, and was to cease on his death. Mr. Addington himself directed it to be signified, that every future attorney general was to expect no compensation for this defalcation of emolument, as the saving was to accrue to the public.—How, then, is this pledge to the public, this promise of Mr. Addington been kept? According to *Juverna*, and his statement may be depended upon, like all his other promises it has been grossly violated. Sir J. Stewart, the late attorney general, retires with his compensation for life of near 2000 l. per annum;—Mr. O'Grady succeeds.—Parliament had designed, Mr. Addington had signified, that no new attorney general was to receive this 2000 l. a year.—But what are acts of parliament, what are ministers promises when a job is necessary?—A short letter to the commissioners of the revenue, to employ the attorney general as one of their counsel, settles the business, repeals the statute and the promises, cheats the public and burdens the nation with a new 2000 l. a year *for ever*. —*Juverna's* remarks respecting that jobbing fund, the revenue incidents of Ireland, are equally important. It is right the public should no longer remain in the dark upon this head of discussion. By the accounts laid before the united parliament in the last session it appears, that the revenue incidents, pensions, and gratuities of Ireland have increased in the last year, beyond the year 1800, in the enormous sum of 57,387 l. a sum almost equal to half the amount of the expenditure on those heads before the union. What would have been the case if these heads of charge in the English revenue had thus enormously risen in three years? What indignation would not such a circumstance have caused? What denunciations would not have been pronounced? But this is a mere Irish business—No member is vulgar enough to trouble the house with an Irish concern. The incidents of the Irish revenue are beneath the attention of a member of the united parliament.—There is a fourth point which *Juverna* has brought forward, and for which he is also highly intitled to the acknowledgements of the public.—*Let the Nimrod of the Tinman, says he, inquire by what means Mr. Redmond Barry became commissioner of public accounts.* I will add, let him also inquire by what means Mr. Edward Taylor, Mr. Cane, and Mr. ——, were also made commissioners. It will be proved that these four important offices were all purchased for the sum of 5,000 l. a piece. Does the prosecutor of the tinman affect ignorance of these transactions, will he resist inquiry into them, or will he defend them? The place of commissioner of accounts in Ireland has a salary of 800 l. a year, and is one of the most important in the state, having the superintendence and ultimate controul of almost the whole expenditure of Ireland. Yet, in the space of a few months, were four of these places publicly and shamelessly sold to the highest bidder, under the virtuous administration of lord Hardwicke, and the incorruptible prosecutor of the Cornish tinman. One was sold to Mr. Edward Taylor, an army agent, for 5,000 l. This worthy commissioner became a bankrupt, and to prevent the clamour of his assignees, if this 5,000 l. had not been accounted for, he was allowed to sell the office again to the son of another army agent, Mr. —— Cane. On a third vacancy, the virtuous lord Hardwicke gave the office to one of his aid-de-camps, a colonel, M'Donnell, who is lately dead; he was, at the time, on the point of procuring a seat in parliament, which is not tenable with a commissionership of accounts, upon which this virtuous lord lieutenant permitted him to sell it. It was for some time hawked about in Dublin and London, and then sold for 5,000 l. to the abovementioned Mr. Redmond Barry. When a fourth vacancy took place, it was as notoriously and unreservedly sold to a Mr. ——. I think your correspondent, Juverna, has true merit with the public for having called their attention to the affairs of Ireland, and we doubt not he will continue his investigation. He will not want incitement in the cause; for I hear that all these transactions of lord Hardwicke, so far from being matter for investigation, are to become grounds of reward.—For this shameful increase of revenue incidents to the amount of 57,000 l. a year; for this appointment of the Attorney General to be a third counsel to the revenue board, for his suffering the sale of four commissionerships of accounts, for his supineness and inattention to the state of Ireland, whereby his Majesty's chief justice was sacrificed, and the capital nearly surprised, not only is his brother made secretary of state, and a gallant veteran traduced and recalled; but, as it is reported, his excellency himself is to be graced with the highest mark of his sovereign's approbation, and to be honoured with the garter!

HIBERNICUS.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

Circular from Miguel Larrea, Esq. Spanish Consul General, in London, relative to the Rumour of an Embargo on Spanish Vessels.—Oct. 22, 1803.

To clear up any doubts touching accounts which have been circulated within these few days, in the public papers of this capital, of an embargo being laid on Spanish and Portuguese ships, I now inform you that his Excellency the Spanish Minister having passed a note to the Court of London respecting this particular, his Excellency Lord Hawkesbury answered him, dated yesterday, that no such embargo had been ordered; and that the order which had been given was, that no English ship should depart without convoy for the ports of Spain and Portugal, on account of the many English prizes that the French privateers had made on those coasts.—All which you will make known publicly, to contradict the very great falsehoods of the public papers.

At the Extraordinary Audience which the First Consul of France granted to the Ottoman Legation, on the 1st of October, 1803, the Ambassador of the Sublime Porte, spoke as follows:

"The ties of constant friendship have from time immemorial been cemented with mutual sincerity betwixt France and the Ottoman Porte. This happy coincidence of sentiments will ever be an event favourable to the interests of both nations. The accidental interruption of this good intelligence, which for a short time took place, was contrary to nature. To repair its consequences the easiest mode will be to bury it in eternal oblivion. Sincere friendship will resume the place which is assigned to it by the destiny of the two empires. A treaty of peace solemnly ratified will be the guarantee of its continuance. The Emperor, my master, wishing to give you the strongest proof of his desire to increase the blessings of this happy peace has chosen me to reside near your august person. You will be convinced of the sincerity of his sentiments by the letters of credence which I have the honour to present to you. The good understanding betwixt the Sublime Porte and France, will, if it please God, be solid and eternal; the Emperor, my master, will do whatever depends on him to preserve it. I will with pleasure second his views, and will omit no effort to promote so important an object. I shall be happy if you shall deign to assure me that you are convinced of the sincerity of my declarations."

The First Consul replied, That he was aware of the sentiments and interests of the Sublime Porte; that he felicitated himself on the renewal of a connexion which had taken its date at the most glorious epoch of the Ottoman Empire; that France would continue to be the best friend of the Sublime Porte, and that he saw with pleasure that an individual had been sent as an ambassador whose accomplishments could not fail to be successfully employed in preserving the good understanding betwixt the two countries.——His Excellency the Ambassador was accompanied by Citizen Kieffer, the Interpreter of the French Legation at Constantinople, his Secretaries Interpreters, a Physician and a Dervis, who are attached to the Legation.

ANSWER *of* M. TALLEYRAND *to the Representations made by the* AMERICAN MINISTER *at Paris, against the* FRENCH DECREE *respecting* BRITISH MERCHANDIZE. *Dated October 7, 1803.*

(American Consulate, London.)

Paris, 15th Vendémiaire, 12th Year.

Foreign Relations—Division of the Commercial Relations.

The Minister of Foreign Relations to Mr. Livingston, Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States of America.

Sir,—The Minister of Internal Affairs being charged with the execution of the arrêté of the 1st Messidor, respecting the Commerce of Neutral Powers with France during the present war, it was incumbent upon me to transmit to him the notes which your Excellency addressed to me on the subject of this arrêté. I have had his answer thereto but a few days since, which I am earnest to communicate to you.——It implies that the arrêté can by no means be repealed; but that the Neutral Powers will certainly be satisfied with the modifications that have been made in it.—— I will make use of the very words of the Minister of Internal Affairs, to acquaint you with those modifications:—1st. Iron and timber from the North, and the other articles which belong to naval stores, or which cannot be had from any other country but the Northern, are admitted without conditions, although the certificate required by the arrêté does not accompany them.——2d. The bonâ fide forced putting in of vessels, and which has not given room either to loading or unloading in England, is not a motive of exclusion, if the cargo offers nothing suspicious.——3d. The returns in countervalue prescribed by the third article of the arrêté can be effected by land, provided the precautions are used which property conveyed in this manner may require, which precautions are charged neither on the Captain nor foreign ship, but only on the owner of the produce, or on the French consignee.——4th. Every kind of merchandize is admitted, without any formality, into our ports, which is such as cannot be considered as coming from England, or her colonies, which excepts from the dispositions of the arrêté the produce of the North and East, and subjects to the formalities intended by the arrêté of 1st Messidor, no other but the goods manufactured, and the colonial produce.——5th. In fine, the Custom-Houses have been authorized to receive as equivalents certificates of origin, in due form, delivered by the authorities of the respective places, of the departure where the Republic has no Commercial Agent.——Please to accept, Sir, the assurance of my perfect consideration.

(Signed) C. M. TALLEYRAND.

The second section in the original French stands thus:—"La relaches vraiment forcés, et qui n'ont "amené ni chargement ni versement en Angle- "terre, ni sous pas un motif d'exclusion, ni d'ail- "leurs las Cargairon ni offre rien de respect."

(True Copy) GEORGE W. ERVING.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

Proclamation.—Augustus Ernouf, General of Division, Inspector General of the French Infantry, Captain General of Guadaloupe and its dependencies.——To the Inhabitants of Guadaloupe, and to the Army.

CITIZENS.——The English government will have war! In vain the father of Frenchmen, the immortal Bnonaparté, has exhausted before it every proceeding, every means which could insure to France the enjoyment of that tranquillity, of

which she has hardly tasted the first fruits. Every sacrifice has been made to obtain that end; but that implacable enemy of Frenchmen, has not been satisfied with the incalculable advantages which it has obtained by a peace, which it alone ought not to have enjoyed. It is not against France alone that it directs its attacks, but against the whole world. Its ambition embraces all, from the shores of India to the mouths of the Orenoque, from the Nile to the Tagus, it pretends to exercise its tyranny. In the extravagance of its ideas, it believes that on it the empire of the seas is devolved. Among the powers which have supported the destructive war which has rent the continent, which of them has been enriched by the spoils of the other? Is it not England?——Inhabitants of Guadaloupe, who have already so victoriously fought her soldiers. You brave warriors who have seen the phalanxes fly before you in the fields of Hondscoote, on the coasts of Flanders and Holland, prepare yourselves to encounter that enemy who, forgetful of honour and the rights of nations, cowardly takes your defenceless shipping sailing under the faith of treaties. You are now at war with the subjects of that perfidious government! Remember Quiberon, the camp of St. John, and the horrible attempt of the 3d of Nivôse.——Soon will the hero of France re-establish the liberty of the seas, soon will he prescribe just limits to the inordinate ambition of that government, alike the perturbator of his country and of the world.——The colony of Guadaloupe and its dependencies, are placed in a state of siege.—Done at Basseterre, Guadaloupe, the 5th of Messidor, 11th year of the French Republic.

(Signed) ERNOUF.

In the name of the French Republic.——Arrêté, respecting the opening of the different ports of Guadaloupe and its dependencies: and a new Tariff of the duties of Import and Export.——Basseterre, 6th Messidor, year 11.—June 15, 1803.

Augustus Ernouf, general of division, captain general of Guadaloupe and its dependencies, and Daniel Lescallier, counsellor of state and colonial prefect,——Considering that the critical circumstances, in which they find the colony, call for efficacious measures for supplying its wants and those of the army, as well as for disposing of the colonial productions at present on hand, decree as follows:——Art. 1. The ports of Basseterre, Point Petre, Bayé-Mahaut, St. Martin and Reunion Marie Galante, shall be open to strangers from the date hereof.——In consequence all articles of consumption, salted meats, military and naval stores, cattle, lumber, and tools of every kind, particularly instruments of agriculture, may be imported by them; and they may export sugars, coffee, and cotton, independently of syrups and taffia.——Art. 2. On the arrival of each vessel, the captain or supercargo is to wait on the captain general and colonial prefect, and afterwards apply to the chief of administration and the director of the custom house for the necessary permits, having previously made out a detailed statement of what the cargo is composed.——Art. 3. If such statement shall be found to have been forged, the transgressor shall be prosecuted in manner and form prescribed by the laws and regulations of commerce.——Art. 4. No French or neutral vessel can depart from any of the ports of the colony, before her captain or supercargo has made a declaration at the custom house of the nature of her cargo and of the tonnage or quantity.——Art. 5. No vessel shall load in whole, or in part, at any other ports than those designated in the 1st article, unless by the express permission of the colonial prefect, under penalty of confiscation of vessels and cargo, and the punishment of the captain.——Art. 6. French as well as foreign vessels, sailing to and from the islands or neutral ports, are expressly forbidden to pass by way of the River Salee, under pain of confiscation of vessel and cargo.——Art. 7. The duties of anchorage, established by the arrêté of the 1st Vendémiaire last, concerning the commerce of neutrals, are diminished one-fourth from this day.——These duties shall be collected by the receiver general of the colony and of the domains, at the payment of the duties of entrance and clearance; a part to be paid the captain of the port, the balance to be deposited in the public treasury.——Art. 8. The interpreters, commissioned by government, shall not, under penalty of deprivation of office, demand from captains of foreign vessels more than eight dollars for all the necessary formalities in which they are to give them every direction from their arrival to their departure; but if the said interpreters shall be employed by the said captains of vessels on objects different from those customary, they shall be indemnified for their trouble in the manner prescribed by the tariff of April, 1771.——Art. 9. The duties of import and export on articles permitted to be imported and exported, shall be paid at the custom house, and collected by the receiver of the domains, according to the following tariff:——Import.——French vessels, arriving from a port of the republic, shall continue to pay a local duty of one per cent. upon merchandize subject to weight:—1 per cent.——French vessels arriving from foreign ports, shall pay a local duty of one per cent. on the value of articles of subsistence:—1 per cent.——Foreign vessels shall pay the customary duties of one per cent. local and one per cent. additional on the total amount of the articles imported:—2 per cent.——Export.—French vessels, returning to a French port, are subject to a local duty of one per cent. and a colonial duty of two per cent.—3 per cent.——French vessels, returning to a foreign port, shall pay one per cent. local, and six per cent. additional.—7 per cent.—Foreign vessels shall pay the local duties and an additional one of two per cent. and of six per cent. on the value of sugars, coffee, and cotton exported.—8 per cent.——On syrups and taffia no more than two per cent shall be paid as a supplementary duty.—2 per cent.——Spanish vessels, laden with cattle and other provisions, shall be treated on their entrance and clearance, on the same terms as French vessels.——Art. 10. According to the preceding dispositions, the arrêté of the 1st Vendémiaire is and remains in force; and the 3d article of the arrêté concerning the duty of six francs, collected by five myriagrames of cod and salt fish, of foreign fishery, is provisionally suspended, as well as the 5th article of the arrêté of the 30th August, 1784, concerning the duty of 3 francs per quintal on salt meat imported by foreigners.——Art. 11. All the regulations of the arrêté of the 30th August, 1784, shall be executed, as they respect the vessels, declarations, and formalities to be performed by foreign vessels and by French vessels engaged in the same commerce.——Art. 12. The chief of administration and the directors of the customs are respectively charged with what concerns the execution of the present arrêté, which shall be printed, read, published, and posted up as is usual, and a copy addressed to the commissary of

justice, in order to be enregistered among the rolls of the tribunals. ERNOUF.
LESCALLIER.

Bruix, Counsellor of State, Admiral of the National Flotilla, to the Minister of the Marine and the Colonies, dated Boulogne, Sept. 30, 1803.

Citizen Minister,—I have the honour to inform you of the arrival at Boulogne of two divisions of the National Flotilla, which yesterday effected a union. I had given orders to Capt. Saint Haouen, commanding the division at Calais, to repair to this port, where the enemy shewed a disposition to attempt a bombardment. My object in giving these orders was to avenge this insult, while at the same time I placed his division in a situation to pursue its route for Boulogne. The division of Dunkirk, which was under the orders of Captain Perrieux, thus preceded, had to encounter less formidable obstacles—Some delay in the preparations for sailing presented to the enemy an opportunity of attacking us. They retired, however, discomfited and disgraced. Our two divisions, after a variety of skirmishes, succeeded last night in repulsing the enemy, though they were attacked before they could prepare for action, and even before they were unmoored. Rear-Admiral Magon commanded in this last engagement. I had in my instructions explained the different movements which he was to make. The subjoined order contains the details of the engagements of yesterday and the preceding day which have been distinguished by complete success.—— Health and respect, (Signed) BRUIX.

GENERAL ORDERS.—*Bruix, Counsellor of State, Admiral of the National Flotilla.—Boulogne, September 29, 1803.*

The Admiral arrived here yesterday. He surveyed the ports of the first maritime district, and was employed in bringing together the divisions of Dunkirk and Calais. The courage and skill of the two Captains who commanded these divisions perfectly seconded the measures which he had taken and equalled his warmest expectations.—— Rear-Admiral Magon, whom the Admiral had ordered to proceed from the port of Boulogne with the force already collected there and those which had the preceding day arrived from Calais, brilliantly executed his instructions. Our gun-boats on this occasion shewed that the exclusive empire of the sea will cease to belong to our rivals. The skirmishes which preceded the junction of the two divisions of the flotilla do the greatest honour to Captains Saint Haouen and Perricux.——These two officers combatted the English divisions, much superior in point of force to the divisions which they commanded. The first not only sustained for several hours unsupported, repeated attacks, but actually obliged the enemy to make an ignominious retreat; the other, weaker still, and in a situation of peculiar difficulty at Cape Grine, was intrepid enough to pass along under the fire of fifteen or sixteen English vessels without being able to return a single shot, so important was it to make every possible use of the oars, and not to lose the tide. The Admiral who was a witness of this intrepidity, was altogether astonished at the coolness of the soldiers of the 46th demi-brigade, hitherto little accustomed to the dangers of the sea. Their zeal, however, produced a result not less happy than could have been expected from the most consummate experience. The reports made by the Admiral on the subject, and who beheld in person the whole scene, prove that our land batteries did not a little contribute to the success of the day. The greatest praise is bestowed on the soldiers of the 46th and 22d military divisions, and to the sailors on board the division of Captain Perrieux and that which immediately preceded him. The cannoneers of the battery of Cape Grine particularly distinguished themselves.—— The enemy, though twice humbled, again tried yesterday towards the evening to wipe off the shame they had incurred, by attacking the flotilla at the time it was casting anchor, and before it had got into a place of safety. Here a new proof was exhibited of their inability to injure us. Their bombs, which they had employed in distressing some families at Calais without at all accomplishing any important object, were only the means of preparing the defeat of their fleet by exasperating our warriors. In this last action Rear-Admiral Magon commanded in person the united force of the flotilla. (Signed) BRUIX.

DECREE *of the* VICE PRESIDENT *of the* ITALIAN REPUBLIC REGULATING *the* CONDUCT *of the* PRESS. *Dated Milan, Sept. 27, 1803.—Year 2.*

The Vice President of the Republic considering the necessity of procuring the means requisite for the revision of the printing-houses established by the Decree of the 21st of January, 1803, that he may discharge with success the important functions with which he is charged, to secure the liberty of the press, and the responsibility of the authors and printers according to the terms of the same decree, on the report of the Minister of the Interior, and the Minister charged with the affairs concerning religious worship, decrees:— Art. I. Every printer, before he puts in circulation, by sale or distribution, a book, or any pamphlet or paper whatever, printed at his press, shall present a copy to the revision of the place, which shall return it to him if there be no cause for censure.——Art. II. The revision, if there be a well-founded presumption for censure, according to the spirit of article I. of the decree of the 21st January, is authorised to order the sale to be suspended, as well as the distribution of the book in question. The police of the place shall, if necessary, lend its aid to enforce the execution of the order of suspension.——Art. III. The suspension shall be taken off by the same revision, if, after a subsequent examination, the presumption which had given occasion to it shall be removed; if, on the contrary, it exists after the examination, a report shall be made of it by the organ of the magistrate of revision to the Minister of the Interior, and to the Minister for Public Worship, each for the subject under his cognizance to be definitively determined by them.——The Minister of the Interior, and the Minister for Affairs relative to Public Worship, are respectively charged with the execution of the present decree, which shall be printed, published, and inserted in the Bulletin of the Laws. MELZI.

The Counsellor Secretary of State,
L. VACCARI.

PROCLAMATION *of the Agents of the* KING *of* SPAIN FOR SURRENDERING LOUISIANA TO FRANCE, *dated New-Orleans, May 18th,* 1803.

Don Manuel de Salcedo, brigadier in the armies of the King, military and civil governor

of the provinces of Louisiana and West Florida, inspector of the regulars and militia of the above places; vice patron, judge royal subdelegated for the superintendance of couriers, &c.....and Don Sebastian Calvo de la Puerta, and O'Farrill, Marquis de Casa Calvo, Knight of the order of St. James, Brigadier in the armies of the King and Colonel of the Stationary Regiment of the Havannah, commissioned by his Majesty for the cession of this province to the French Republic.——Be it known to all the subjects of our Lord the King, of whatever class or denomination soever, that his Majesty has determined to retrocede this province of Louisiana to the French Republic, to the reciprocal satisfaction of the two powers; and in continuing the same proof of protection and satisfaction which the inhabitants of this province have universally experienced, his Majesty has thought proper to decree, amongst other things, certain points which we conceive it our duty to make known to the public, for the guidance and particular government of those whom it may interest.—1st. His Majesty having presented the obligations prescribed by treaty, and wished to avoid any dispute that might occur, has resolved, that the cession of the colony and Island of New-Orleans, which is to be made to Victor, General of division, or other officer legally authorised by the government of the French Republic, shall take place on the same terms that France ceded to his Majesty the said colony and Island; by virtue of which the limits of the two shores of the river of Saint Louis or Mississippi, shall remain on the same footing, as they did at the term of the seventh article of the definitive treaty of peace concluded in Paris on the 10th Feb. 1763; and consequently the establishment from Manchac or Iberville river, as far as the line which separates the American territory from the dominions of the Kings, remain in the power of Spain and annexed to West Florida.—2d. All individuals, who are in any ways in the service of, and wish to continue under the dominion of the King, will repair to the Havannah, or some other parts of his Majesty's possessions, unless they prefer remaining in the service of France, which is left to their option; but if any just or well-founded principle prevents them for the present from fulfilling those dispositions, they will assign from time to time, and in a proper manner, through the organ of their respective chiefs, sufficient reason.——3d. The generous bounty of the King will not discontinue the pensions of widows, or other persons who have retired, and will suggest to them at a proper season, the manner in which this arrangement will take place.——4th. His Majesty manifesting his hopes for the advantage and tranquillity of the Colony, promises himself, from the sincere friendship and strict alliance, which unites the Spanish Government to that of the French Republic, that the latter will issue its orders to the governor and other officers employed in its service in the said Colony and City of New-Orleans, to continue to the ecclesiastics, and religious houses which may officiate parochially, or as missionaries, their functions, and grant them the same privileges and exemptions which they are entitled to from the nature of their establishments; to continue in the like manner all ordinary judges, as well as the tribunals established for the administration of justice, conformably to the laws and known customs of colonies; to support and guarantee the inhabitants in the peaceable possession of their properties; to confirm all concessions and grants of what nature soever, made and given by the governor of these provinces, although not yet confirmed by his Majesty, who hopes that the Government of the Republic will afford its subject the same proofs of protection and love which they enjoyed under the dominion of his Majesty.——In order that all persons concerned may come to that decision, they deem essential to them, we likewise declare, that in case of doubt, they are to have recourse to us for the steps it will be expedient for them to take, conformably to all royal order and instructions. And that this might be known to all, we have ordered it to be published with solemnity, and the requisite forms by beat of drum, and posted in the customary places. Given at New Orleans, 18th of May, 1803.

MANUEL DE SALCEDO,
THE MARQUIS DE CASA CALVO.

By order of their Lordships,
CHARLES XIMENS, Secretary.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPERS.

Order of Council relative to the Yellow Fever at New York.—Dated St. James's, Oct. 26, 1803.

Whereas information hath been received that an infectious distemper is now raging in the city of New York, in the state of New York, within the United States of America: and whereas by an act passed in the thirty-ninth and fortieth year of his Majesty's reign, intituled "An Act for erecting a Lazaret on Chetney Hill, in the county of Kent, and for reducing into one act the laws relating to quarantine, and for making further provisions therein:" It is among other things enacted, that it shall be lawful for his Majesty, by and with the advice of his Privy Council, by his Royal Proclamation from time to time to declare any infectious distemper, the communication whereof may be highly dangerous to the health of his Majesty's subjects, to be of the nature of the plague.——His Majesty, in pursuance of the said power, by and with the advice of his Privy Council, deems it expedient to declare, and doth hereby declare, that the said infectious distemper is of the nature of the plague——And his Majesty doth therefore hereby order, that all ships, vessels, persons, goods, wares, and merchandizes now arrived, or which may hereafter arrive in any of the ports of Great-Britain, or the Isles of Guernsey, Jersey, Alderney, Sark, or Man from New York, or any port within the state of New York, and shall have cleared out from New York, or any port within the state of New York, subsequent to the 15th day of August last, (not having any person or persons on board the same actually ill of the said fever), do perform a quarantine of fourteen days at the several places appointed, and according to the rules prescribed by his Majesty's

Order in Council of the 29th of July, 1800, for performance of quarantine by all ships and vessels coming from or through the Mediterranean, or from the West Barbary on the Atlantic Ocean, and arriving with clean bills of health; but in case any of the crew or passengers on board any such ship or vessel which shall have cleared out from New York, or any port within the state of New York, subsequent to the said 15th day of August, and shall have arrived, or may hereafter arrive in any of the ports of Great-Britain, or the Islands of Guernsey, Jersey, Alderney, Sark, or Man from New York, or any port within the state of New York, shall have died of the said fever during the course of the voyage, the cloaths and all personal effects which are susceptible of infection, worn by, or belonging to such person, shall be forthwith burned, or sunk in deep water; and if such cloaths and effects shall not be so burned or destroyed, the said ship or vessel, with the whole of her cargo, shall not be permitted to perform quarantine at any port or place except at Standgate Creek, and shall be compelled to depart from any other port or place at which the same has arrived, or shall arrive as aforesaid, and shall repair to Standgate Creek, and there perform quarantine, and not elsewhere: and his Majesty is further pleased to order, with the advice aforesaid, and it is hereby ordered, that if it shall appear upon the arrival of any ship or vessel from New York or any port within the state of New York as aforesaid, that any of the crew or passengers belonging to the same are actually ill of the said fever, then such ship or vessel, and the persons, goods, wares, and merchandizes on board the same, shall not be permitted to perform quarantine at any port or place except Standgate Creek, and shall be compelled to depart from any other port or place, and to proceed immediately to Standgate Creek in order to perform quarantine, and shall there perform quarantine and not elsewhere: and the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury, the Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of Great-Britain, the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, the Master-General and the rest of the principal Officers of the Ordnance, his Majesty's Secretary at War, and the Governors or Commanders in Chief for the time being of the said Isles of Guernsey, Jersey, Alderney, Sark, and Man, are to give the necessary directions herein as to them may respectively appertain.

W. FAWKENER.

ORDER OF REVIEW *for the* VOLUNTEER *Corps belonging to the* LONDON *district, which are to be assembled in Hyde Park, for the purpose of being reviewed by* HIS MAJESTY, *on the 26th and 28th of October.*

The Corps to be reviewed on those days respectivrly, are as follow, viz.—On the 26th are the Loyal London Volun. Cavalry; Lieut.-Col. Anderson.—Hon. Artillery Company; Col. Paul Le Mesurier.—1st. Royal East India Volunteers; Col. Sir. L. Darrel.—2d do. Col. Sir Hugh Inglis.—3d do. Col. John Roberts.—1st. Reg. Loy. Lon. Volun. Infan.; Lieut.-Col. Birch.—2d do.; Lieut.-Col. J. Smith.—3d do.; Lieut.-Col. Kensington.—4th do; Lieut.-Col. Price.—5th do.; Lieut.-Col T. Smith.—6th do.; Lieut. Col. Wigram.—7th do.; Lieut.-Col. Shaw.—8th do.; Lieut.-Col. Canning.—9th do.; Lieut.-Col. Sir W. Curtis.—10th do.; Lieut.-Col. Combs.—11th do.; Major Seddon.—Bank Reg. Volunteer Infantry; Col. Manning.—Bank Supplementary do.; Captain E. Long.—1st. Reg. Tower Hamlets do.; Lieut.-Col. Mellish.—Whitechapel do.; Lieut.-Col. Craven.—Mile End do.; Major Liptrap.—St. George in the East do.; Major Spildt.—Radcliffe do.; Major Boulcott.—Shoreditch do.; Major Marshall.—Bromley St. Leonard do.; Major Stoward.—Bethnal Green do.; Major Carrick.—St. Catharine do. Captain Jenkins.——On the 28th the London and Westminster L. H. Volun.; Colonel Herries.—Westminster Reg. of Volun. Cavalry; Lieut.-Col. Elliot.—Southwark Troop of Yeomanry; Captain Collingdon.—St. George's Reg. of Volun. Infan.; Col. Earl of Chesterfield.—St. James's do.; Col. Lord Amherst.—Bloomsbury and Inns of Court do.; Col. Cox.—Royal Westminster do.; Col. Robertson.—Prince of Wales's do.; Col. M. P. Andrews.—St. Margaret's and St. John's; Hon. Lieut.-Col. Eden.—Loyal North Britons; Lieut.-Col. Lord Reay.—Royal York Mary-la-bone; Col. Lord Duncannon.—Duke of Gloucester's; Col. Lord Chetwynd.—1st Surrey; Lieu.-Col. Gaitskill.—Lambeth; Lieut.-Col. Edwards.—The Somerset-place; Col. Tierney.—1st and 2d Batts. Queen's Roy.; Col. Lord Hobart.—The St. Giles's and St. George's do.; Lieut.-Col. Sir J. Nicholl.—Loyal British Artificers; Lieut.-Col. Burton.—St. Andrew and St. George's; Lieut.-Col. Reader.—The Clerkenwell; Major Magniac.—The St. Sepulchre; Major Ford.—The Loyal Britons; Lieut. Col. Davison.—The Knightsbridge; Major Eyre.—The St. Saviour's; Major Potts.—The St. Clement's Danes;—Major Blake.—The Loyal Southwark; Col. Tierney.—The Duke of Cumberland's Corps of Vol. Sharp Shooters; Captain Barber.—The Gray's Inn Corps of Volunteer Riflemen; Capt. John K. Cooke.——The troops will be drawn up in lines forming an irregular pentagon, and the ground will be occupied on both days, as follows:——The right extending along Buckden Hill, from the Serpentine River to the North Wall of the Park; the right centre in a line perpendicular to the first, extending to Cumberland Gate; the left centre parallel with the East Wall of the Park, extending towards the Gravel Pits, where its left will be thrown forward, lining with the gate that leads to the head of the Serpentine River. The left on the South side of the Serpentine River, and parallel to the road leading to Kensington Gardens.——Under his Royal Highness the Commander in Chief,——General the Earl of Harrington will command the line.——The four divisions of the line will be commanded by—Right—Major General Burrard.—Right Centre Major General the Hon. E. Finch.—Left Centre—Major General the Hon. C. Fitztoy.—Left—Major General the Hon. J. Leslie.——On the days before mentioned his Majesty will be on the ground at ten in the morning precisely. It is therefore necessary that each corps shall arrive in Hyde Park (marching in by the most convenient gate), so as to stand assembled in close column of companies, in and behind the right of its own ground, at eight o'clock in the morning, ready at the moment, when ordered to deploy into line.——A quarter master, or intelligent officer, with the camp colour men, to be at their ground one hour before their corps, one of whom is to be detached for the purpose of conducting his corps to its proper point.——In this manner the right company or division of each corps will stand on its proper ground which it is to occupy in the line, and the others be in close column behind it; and each corps will, for this purpose, march with its right in front.——From this situation the general line will be ordered to

be formed by deploying to the left; the whole are to be two deep, and the line will be thus formed at close ranks: there will be an interval of five paces between each corps, great or small, and each will be formed at close files according to his Majesty's regulations, twenty-two inches being allowed for each file: the ranks will then be opened, and the officers advanced in front ——Each battalion of the corps that are composed of more than one battalion, will assemble in a separate close column, and from that situation deploy into the general line.—such corps as have guns will be allowed sufficient ground for them on the right of each, in addition to the interval of five paces.—— A signal gun, a 12 pounder, will be posted at the most proper place, for the advantage of the whole. ——On the firing of the first cannon to notify his Majesty's approach, the whole will stand shouldered in perfect order, and the guns of the hon. Artillery Company will immediately and independently fire a royal salute of 21 guns.——When his Majesty arrives at a given central point in front of the line, a second cannon will fire, and the whole line, as much at the same instant as possible, (each corps by command of its commanding officer), will present arms: officers will salute; the drums will beat; and the music will play God save the King, once over.——At the third cannon, the corps will in like manner shoulder by word of command, support arms and remain steady.——His Majesty will proceed to the right of the line, and pass along from right to left: as he arrives near the right of each corps, each will be successively commanded to carry arms, and remain steady; but officers do not salute, nor are the colours to be dropped. After his Majesty passes each corps, arms are to be supported; the drums will beat and the music play, while his Majesty is passing along the front, particularly in the corps which he is passing.——After his Majesty has passed along the line, he will return to a point in the centre of the area formed by the troops.— At the fourth cannon, the whole will load, each corps by command of its own commanding officer, and the several corps will in the same manner close their ranks.——At the fifth cannon, the firing will begin by vollies of battalions from the centre of the line to each flank; the left division of the right centre, and the right division of the left centre, will begin the fire: when these have fired, the two immediately to the right and left of them, receive the words ready, present, fire, and so on to each flank of the whole line: the interval between the fire of one corps and the ready of the next, should not exceed two seconds. The several corps will load and shoulder immediately after firing.——At the sixth cannon, the same firing and loading will be repeated from centre to flanks.—— At the seventh cannon, the same firing will be repeated from centre to flanks; but no further loading is to take place: after this firing, pieces will be half-cocked, pans shut, and firelocks shouldered, by command from the commanding officers of battalions.——At the eighth cannon, three English cheers will be given, hats and hands waving in the air, drums beating, and music playing God save the King.——In firing the vollies, the pieces are to be presented in the air, as is usual in firing a *feu-de-joie*.——The whole line will now pass his Majesty, for which purpose, on the signal of the ninth cannon, the whole will wheel by divisions backwards on their left; the front division of the right line being conducted by the general officer commanding it, to a point on an alignement with his Majesty, when it will wheel to the right, followed by the remaining divisions of that line. The divisions of the right centre line will march to the aforementioned point by the shortest route: the divisions of the left centre line will order arms, and remain in that position until the rear division of the right centre line has moved forward, when the division will shoulder arms, and follow in succession, wheeling successively to their left, at the point on the alignement in which they are to pass his Majesty:—As soon as the line is thrown into open column, the left, under the command of Major-General Leslie, will march in quick time, and form in close column, so as to be prepared to follow immediately in the rear of the left centre line, when that shall be put in motion, in the meanwhile standing with arms ordered.——Each company (on its march) will open its ranks at fifty paces from his Majesty, and again close them after passing, officers saluting, and colours dropping as they pass.——Whatever music first passes his Majesty will wheel out to the left, and remain playing until relieved by the next band, and so of the others.——When the line receives his Majesty, and when he passes along it, commanding officers will be on foot at the head of their corps: when the column marches past his Majesty, commanding officers, field officers, and adjutants will be mounted.——After passing his Majesty, by at least three hundred yards, the several corps of the right and right centre lines will proceed in quick time to their quarters, taking the road which leads from the Park keeper's Lodge to Piccadilly Gate, the several corps of the left centre and left lines will also proceed to their quarters, after having passed his Majesty at the distance above-mentioned, taking a direction towards Stanhope-street Gate, from which point they may proceed through either Cumberland, Grosvenor, or Stanhope-street gates, as may suit their own convenience.—— Great care must be taken to avoid or correct any stop near the Park Gate or passages through the rails.——The corps of cavalry that are to keep the ground, will assemble on the Great Road, leading to Kensington Gardens.——The commanding officers of corps are desired to be provided with two field returns of their respective corps, which, after passing his Majesty, they will deliver to the adjutant-general.——No carriages, excepting those belonging to the Royal Family, and to Foreign Princes or Ambassadors, are to be admitted into Hyde Park on the mornings of the 26th and 28th inst. until the reviews are over, and the troops have entirely quitted the ground: no person will be admitted on horseback within the area formed by the troops, except the general and staff officers attending his Majesty, and the general officers employed on this occasion.——No servants, except those belonging to the Royal Family, are to be admitted within the area formed by the troops.—— Officers in the uniforms of the sea or land service are to be admitted on foot within the area formed by the troops, and ladies in their company and under their protection, are not to be excluded.—— All persons who do not come under the above descriptions, are to be positively refused admittance, but it is to be explained to them that the space between the lines occupied by the troops, and the park walls, has been left for their accommodation. ——The troops are enjoined on this occasion to perform their duty, and carry the orders they receive into execution with the utmost exactness;

but at the same time to avoid, as much as possible, giving any offence to individuals.——By command of his Royal Highness, the Commander in Chief,

HARRY CALVERT, Adjutant-General.

Horse-Guards, Oct. 22, 1803.

GENERAL ORDERS *issued after the* REVIEWS *of the* VOLUNTEERS *on the* 26TH *and* 28TH *of* OCTOBER.

Dated Horse-Guards, Oct. 29, 1803.

His Royal Highness the Commander in Chief has received the King's command to convey to the several Volunteer and Associated Corps which were reviewed in Hyde Park on the 26th and 28th inst. his Majesty's highest approbation of their appearance, which has equalled his Majesty's utmost expectation.——His Majesty perceives, with heartfelt satisfaction, that the spirit of loyalty and patriotism, on which the system of the armed Volunteers throughout the Kingdom was originally founded has risen with the exigencies of the times, and at this moment forms such a bulwark to the constitution and liberties of the country, as will enable us, under the protection of Providence, to bid defiance to the unprovoked malice of our enemies, and to hurl back, with becoming indignation, the threats which they have presumed to vent against our independence, and even our existence as a nation.——His Majesty has observed with peculiar pleasure, that, amongst the unprecedented exertions which the present circumstances of the country have called forth, those of the capital of his United Kingdom have been eminently conspicuous. The appearance of its numerous and well-regulated Volunteer Corps, which were reviewed on the 26th and 28th inst. indicates a degree of attention and emulation, both in officers and men, which can proceed only from a deep sense of the important objects for which they have enrolled themselves, a just estimation of the blessings we have so long enjoyed, and a firm and manly determination to defend them like Britons, and transmit them, unimpaired, to our posterity.——The Commander in Chief has the highest satisfaction in discharging his duty, by communicating these his Majesty's most gracious sentiments, and requests that the Commanding Officers will have recourse to the readiest means of making the same known to their respective corps.

FREDERICK, Commander in Chief.

General Return of the Volunteer Corps reviewed by his Majesty in Hyde Park, on the 26th and 28th of October, 1803.

On Wednesday the 26th—Loyal London Volun. Cavalry; Lieut.-Col Anderson, 217 in the Field—Hon. Artillery Company; Col. Paul Le Mesurier, 994—1st. Royal East-India Volunteers; Col. Sir L. Darrell, 640—2d do.; Col. Sir Hugh Inglis, 636—3d do.; Col. John Roberts, 585—1st Reg. Loy. Lon. Volun. Infan.; Lieut.-Col. Birch, 737—2d do.; Lieut.-Col. J. Smith, 657—3d do.; Lieut.-Col. Kensington, 804—4th do.; Lieut.-Col. Price, 790—5th do.; Lieut.-Col. T. Smith, 501—6th do.; Lieut.-Col. Wigram, 647—7th do.; Lieut.-Col. Shaw, 404—8th do.; Lieut. Col. Canning, 777—9th do.; Lieut.-Col Sir W. Curtis, 651—10th do.; Lieut.-Col Combe, 587—11th do.; Major Seddon, 293—1st Reg. Tower Hamlets do.; Lieut.-Col. Mellish, 350—Whitechapel do.; Lieut.-Col. Craven, 445—Mile End do.; Major Liptrap, 333—St. George in the East do.; Major Splidt, 230—Radcliffe do.; Major Boulcott, 183—Shoreditch do.; Major Marshall, 294—Bromley St. Leonard do.; Major Stodard, 175—Bethnal Green do.; Major Carrick, 166—St. Catharine do.; Captain Jenkins, 121—Christchurch Volunteers; Major Stevens, 184——Total 12,401.

On Friday the 28th.—London and Westmin. Light Horse; Col. Herries, 727—Westmin. Reg. of Volunteer Cavalry; Lieut.-Col. Elliott, 225—Southwark Troop of Yeomanry; Captain Collingdon, 69—Clerkenwell Cavalry; Captain Sellon, 46—Lambeth do.; Captain Watson, 40—St. George's Reg. of Volun. Infan.; Col. Earl of Chesterfield, 663—St. James's do. do.; Col. Lord Amherst, 954—Bloomsb. and Inns of Court do.; Col. Cox, 929—Royal Westminster do.; Col. Robertson, 961—Prince of Wales's do.; Col. M. P. Andrews, 640—St. Margaret's and St. John's; Hon. Lieut.-Col. Eden, 625—Loyal North Britons; Lieut.-Col. Lord Reay, 286—Mary-la-borne; Col. Lord Duncannon, 905—Law Association; Lieut.-Col. Hon. T. Erskine, 335—Duke of Gloucester's; Col. Lord Chetwynd, 462—The Somerset Place; Col. Tierney, 380—The St. Giles's and St. George's; Lieut.-Col. Sir J. Nicholl, 605—The Clerkenwell; Major Magniac, 701—Loyal British Artificers; Lieut.-Col. Burton, 542—The Loyal Britons; Lieut.-Col. Davison, 127—St. Andrew and St. George's; Lieut.-Col. Reader, 514—1st and 2d Bat. Queen's Royals; Col. Lord Hobart, 926—The Knightsbridge; Major Eyre, 124—The St. Clement's Danes; Major Blake, 245—1st Surrey; Lieut.-Col. Gaitskill, 515—The St. Sepulchre; Major Ford, 174—The St. Saviour; Major Potts, 151—The Loyal Southwark; Col. Tierney, 545—Lambeth; Lieut.-Col. Edwards, 555—Christchurch; Major Tollman, 171—Saint John's; Major King, 138—St. Olave's; Captain Shaw, 116—Rotherhithe; Major Wells, 158—The Duke of Cumberland's Sharp Shooters; Captain Barber, 84—Gray's Inn Corps of Vol. Riflemen; Captain J. K. Cooke, 38——Total 14,676.

HARRY CALVERT, Adjutant-General.

The total number of the troops inspected amounted to 27,077.—In many instances a considerable part of the corps were absent on business or otherwise; and we understand that the returns of the effective strength of the several battalions, rendered some weeks since, made the number of Volunteers within the City to exceed 35,000. The Corps in the vicinity of the Metropolis—the Hackney, Pancras, Fulham, Hampstead, Islington, Camberwell, Wandsworth, &c. exceed 11,000, making in the whole a force of 46,000 men.

Most of the members of the Royal Family attended the Review, but his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales was absent on both days. Among the attendants upon his Majesty were upwards of forty General Officers: and among the foreigners of distinction who were present were Monsieur, the Prince of Condé, the Dukes of Orleans and Berry, and almost all the foreign Ambassadors. Colonel de Faire, who so particularly signalized himself in the army of the Prince de Condé attended the Prince on the ground.

Printed by Cox and Baylis, No. 75, Great Queen Street, and published by R. Bagshaw, Bow Street, Covent Garden, where former Numbers may be had; sold also by J. Budd, Crown and Mitre, Pall-Mall.